

EXECUTIVE SESSION  
PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE,  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

INTERVIEW OF: ROB GOLDSTONE

Monday, December 18, 2017

Washington, D.C.

The interview in the above matter was held in Room HVC-304, the Capitol, commencing at 1:35 p.m.

Present: Representatives Conaway, King, Ros-Lehtinen, Gowdy, Stefanik, Himes, Quigley, Swalwell, Castro, and Heck.

Appearances:

For the PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE:

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

For ROB GOLDSTONE:

G. ROBERT GAGE, JR., ESQ.  
BERNARD W. OZAROWSKI III, ESQ.  
GAGE SPENCER & FLEMING LLP  
410 Park Avenue  
New York, NY 10022

██████████ Good afternoon. This is a transcribed interview of Rob Goldstone.

Thank you for speaking with us today.

For the record, I am ██████████ a staff member of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Also present today from HPSCI are a number of members and staff, who will identify themselves when they ask questions.

Before we begin, I wanted to state a few things for the record.

The questioning will be conducted by members and staff. During the course of this interview, members and staff may ask questions during their allotted time period.

Some questions may seem basic. That is because we need to clearly establish facts and understand the situation. Please do not assume we know any facts you have previously disclosed as part of any other investigation or review.

This interview will be conducted at the unclassified level.

During the course of this interview, we will take any breaks that you desire.

We ask that you give complete and fulsome replies to questions based on your best recollections. If a question is unclear or you are uncertain in your response, please let us know. If you do not know the answer to a question or cannot remember, simply say so.

You're entitled to have a lawyer present for this interview, though you are not required to. I understand you do have counsel present. And if counsel would identify themselves for the record, I would appreciate it.

MR. GAGE: Yes. Robert Gage.

MR. OZAROWSKI: Bernard Ozarowski.

██████ Thank you.

As you can see, this interview will be transcribed. There is a reporter making a record of these proceeding so we can easily consult a written compilation of your answers. Because the reporter cannot record gestures, we ask that you answer verbally. If you forget to do this, you may be reminded to do so. You may also be asked to spell certain terms or unusual phrases.

Consistent with the committee's rules of procedure, you or your counsel, upon request, will have a reasonable opportunity to inspect the transcript of this interview in order to determine whether your answers were correctly transcribed. The transcript will remain in the committee's custody.

The committee also reserves the right to request your return for additional questions should the need arise.

The process for the interview is as follows: The minority will be given 45 minutes to ask questions; then the majority will be given 45 minutes to ask questions. Immediately thereafter, we will take a 5-minute break, after which the minority will be given 15 minutes to ask questions and the majority will be given 15 minutes to ask questions until the questions are exhausted.

These time limits will be strictly adhered to by all sides, with no extensions being granted. Time will be kept for each portion of the interview, with warnings given at the 5- and 1-minute mark respectively.

To ensure confidentiality, we ask that you do not discuss the interview with anyone other than your attorneys.

You are reminded that it is unlawful to deliberately provide false information to Members of Congress or staff.

Lastly, the record will reflect you are voluntarily participating in this

interview, which will be under oath.

And if you will now raise your right hand, I will swear the witness.

Do you solemnly swear or affirm to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do.

██████████ Let the record reflect the witness answered in the affirmative.  
Chairman Conaway?

MR. CONAWAY: Thank you, Mr. Goldstone.

Mr. Schiff, do you have any comments?

MR. SCHIFF: No. Just that we appreciate your agreement to testify today.

MR. CONAWAY: Very good. We will start with the minority's 45. Adam?

MR. SCHIFF: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Goldstone, where do you live?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I live in ██████████.

MR. SCHIFF: And you're a citizen of what country or countries?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm a dual citizen of the United Kingdom and the United States.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you have any ties to Russia? Have you previously lived there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I've never lived in Russia.

MR. SCHIFF: And how did you come to do business with the Agalarovs then?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was introduced to Emin Agalarov in my capacity as a music publicist at the end of 2011. At the time, his manager, who has since

passed away, was looking to expand his reach of an entertainer into the United States, and I was recommended as somebody to handle public relations for him.

MR. SCHIFF: And between that time and today, that time and 2011, how often would you go to Russia as a byproduct of that work?

MR. GOLDSTONE: So, in addition to being his publicist, I ultimately became his international music manager, and that led to me visiting Russia, on average, two to three times a year, sometimes more often, sometimes less often. But, in total, as of to date, I've been about 19 times.

MR. SCHIFF: And in your work for Emin Agalarov, do you have a position with the Crocus Group? With the Agalarovs? Is he a client of yours? What's the nature of the relationship?

MR. GOLDSTONE: So I have a small, independent public relations, events, and marketing company, and Emin was my client. So I was paid a fee as a consultant. I was never on a payroll as a staff member of Crocus or any other group.

MR. SCHIFF: So you never had any Russian employer or contract except by virtue of your role as a publicist and ultimately manager for Emin Agalarov.

MR. GOLDSTONE: That is correct.

MR. SCHIFF: I take it you've never worked for the Russian Government or anyone purported to be connected with the government.

MR. GOLDSTONE: That is correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And you don't do any lobbying, do you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do not.

MR. SCHIFF: So, if you could, go through the circumstances in 2011 of when you first came into contact with Emin.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was representing a young singer out of Westchester County in New York, and her manager said that a friend of his managed a Russian pop star. And he was London-based. And he thought, because I was originally from England and I had experience of working in many different territories, that I could be potentially a good selection to handle public relations for Emin.

So he set up a meeting. I don't exactly recall where the meeting was, but it was in a hotel in New York City. I put together a small press plan of how I thought we could introduce Emin to the U.S. market and beyond, in fact. And Emin seemed to like it. And instantly we seemed to have a little bit of a rapport, and I was hired as his publicist almost immediately, I think the following day.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, you said, I think, that you currently live in New Jersey?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do.

MR. SCHIFF: And how long have you lived there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have lived there approximately 6 years.

MR. SCHIFF: And, prior to that, did you live in the U.K.?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Prior to that, I lived in New York City. I have lived in New York City since 1991.

MR. SCHIFF: And as a result of the relationship that you began with Emin in 2011, how often would you communicate with him?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Sometimes hourly. Sometimes every few hours. I mean, at least every day.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you consider him a friend as well as a client?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do.

MR. SCHIFF: And, in the course of that, how often have you come into contact with his father, Aras?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Quite a bit. I mean, mainly at family events, birthdays, concerts. Usually big family events that are tied to music concerts that Emin does, and so I've met his father at those, both in Moscow, in New York, and also in their native Azerbaijan. They're from Azerbaijan. So I've also met them on their, kind of, home turf, as it were.

MR. SCHIFF: You don't represent Aras Agalarov in any way.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do not, no.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you represent any other individuals of Russian origin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I represent the Russian Tearoom. But it's not -- I mean, it's technically of Russian origin. It's not a person; it's a building. So "no" would be the answer, I believe.

MR. SCHIFF: The Russian Tearoom, is that in the U.K., or where is it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It's in New York City. It's an iconic, kind of, restaurant which, ironically, is not owned by Russians. But it does bear the name, so I'm just stating it for the record.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay.

When is the last time you spoke with Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Would it be okay to ask you if you would clarify "speak" as in "speak" or "communicate in any way"?

MR. SCHIFF: Either way.

MR. GOLDSTONE: The last communication I had was on December 3rd, which was my birthday, and Emin sent me a text that basically wished me a happy birthday and wished me well.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you discuss with him your testimony today at any time?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not.



MR. SCHIFF: And, apart from your counsel, who did you discuss your testimony with?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Other than my counsel, nobody.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know a Roman Beniaminov?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do.

MR. SCHIFF: And what is his role?

MR. GOLDSTONE: As I understand it, he's always been introduced to me as Emin's childhood friend and assistant in the U.S.

MR. SCHIFF: When did you last speak with Roman or communicate with him?

MR. GOLDSTONE: About 2 weeks ago in his capacity as an assistant. He was helping me book a hotel in New York City.

MR. SCHIFF: And what kind of tasks as an assistant would he conduct on Emin's behalf?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The task that I had witnessed or was involved in usually involved travel, whether it was of myself or guests. Or when we would produce records for Emin, CDs, there would be musicians involved, there would be producers involved. I would always go through Roman as my first point of contact.

MR. SCHIFF: And do you currently represent Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do not.

MR. SCHIFF: And when did you cease to have that relationship?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I left his employ on December 31st of 2016.

MR. SCHIFF: And what were the circumstances in which you left his representation?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I had advised him a month or two before that I had for some time wanted to take what I called an adult gap year to write a book on whether it was possible for 50-year-olds to do a gap year that students traditionally do. And I wanted to travel around the world and do jobs such as be a barista, trek in Nepal, do all the things I thought -- and the only way I could do it was to take a year off.

So I told him that I thought the timing was good. He'd just hired somebody out of the U.K. to be a kind of second in command to me. And I said, now that that person was in place, I would use the opportunity to take 2017, or at least part of it, to do this book.

MR. SCHIFF: And who is the person in the U.K. that ended up taking over his representation?

MR. GOLDSTONE: A gentleman who now manages him. His name is Ric Salmon.

MR. SCHIFF: And is Mr. Salmon a British citizen?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He is.

MR. SCHIFF: Is he a dual citizen?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He is not.

MR. SCHIFF: When did you first meet Aras Agalarov?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I first met him -- I don't know the month, but early in 2012.

MR. SCHIFF: And what were the circumstances?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was in London with Emin, and we were due to travel back to the U.S. We had a commercial flight out of London Heathrow, and, at the last minute, Emin asked me for my passport and said he needed to send the

details over to his flight coordination, because his dad was going from Moscow to New York, and he'd convinced him that somehow London was on the way, and so he would swing by and pick us up. That was the first time I met him, was actually on his own plane.

MR. SCHIFF: And, after you met him, would you ever communicate with him directly, or did you always go through his son, Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Always through his son, unless there were specific requests, such as sometimes we had media requests, and then I would go through a lady named Daria Petrova, who is Mr. Agalarov's assistant and handles his public relations.

MR. SCHIFF: But you wouldn't, for example, call Aras Agalarov or email or text him. You would either go through the woman you mentioned or through Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. Not least because he didn't really speak English. I mean, he could say "yes" and "no" and a few words. But yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Apart from that trip you mentioned to New York where he picked you up on his plane to London, were there other occasions when you traveled with Aras Agalarov?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And, briefly, what occasions were those?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Often it was to -- it was at times when I was in Moscow with Emin and then we would go Baku in Azerbaijan for a concert or an event. Often we would travel everyone together -- the band manager, myself, Emin's assistant, and Aras.

I believe I also traveled back to New York with Aras and his family after we

had all met in Las Vegas during Miss USA when the announcement was made of Miss Universe taking place in Moscow.

So on a number of occasions I traveled with him.

MR. SCHIFF: And on the occasions you traveled with him or were with him at events and you would speak with him, did you do so through an interpreter?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Through -- if it was more than just pleasantries -- pleasantries he understood. If it was more than that, usually Emin would be the translator.

MR. SCHIFF: Some press reports indicate that Mr. Trump -- that is, the now-President -- met Aras Agalarov through Emin. Do you recall that being the case?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. That is technically how he would have met him. Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And, to the best of your knowledge, when would that have been, the first time that Donald Trump, the now-President, first met Aras?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was a day or two before Miss USA in 2013. We were all in Las Vegas, and Aras, his wife, his daughter, and Emin had been invited as the guests of Miss Universe to be in Las Vegas in order to meet Mr. Trump and also for Mr. Trump to be able to announce at the end of the crowning of the new Miss USA that that year's Miss Universe would be in Moscow.

I had hoped that they would meet in a more formal setting, but they actually bumped into each other in the lobby of the Trump Hotel, and that was the first time they met, because I was there.

MR. SCHIFF: So was it your understanding that the decision to have the Miss Universe Pageant in Moscow had already been made prior to Las Vegas and

prior to Aras Agalarov meeting Mr. Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: A letter of intent had been signed by Mr. Agalarov, to the best of my knowledge, but the contract had not been signed. And that's what was hopefully going to take place during the time Mr. Agalarov was in Las Vegas.

MR. SCHIFF: And who would have done the negotiating around the letter of intent? Do you know whether Mr. Trump and Mr. Agalarov ever spoke by phone?

MR. GOLDSTONE: To the best of my knowledge, they did not. The negotiations took place -- I was Emin's designated representative taking care of creative and logistics and interfacing with Paula Shughart as head of Miss Universe, [REDACTED] as head of production, and Andrea Berner as head of legal affairs for Miss Universe.

Ike, which is Irakly Kaveladze, was nominated by Mr. Agalarov Sr. to take care of negotiating the financial and sponsorship and the business side of it.

So, to the best of my knowledge, neither Mr. Agalarov nor Mr. Trump had communicated until that point in the hotel.

MR. SCHIFF: So Mr. Kaveladze was empowered to negotiate those financial issues on behalf of the Agalarovs?

MR. GOLDSTONE: As I understand.

MR. SCHIFF: Are you aware of any ties between the Agalarovs and the Russian Government?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SCHIFF: Is that the kind of thing that Mr. Agalarov, Aras Agalarov, would discuss with you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It's not the kind of thing he had ever discussed with

me.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, did you have the kind of relationship with Aras Agalarov where he would discuss matters such as his relationship with Putin or other high-ranking Russian officials?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I had a very warm and friendly relationship with him, but I certainly didn't have a -- whether it would be a confidential or a business or a type of relationship where he would share his thoughts with me. No, I wouldn't say I had that relationship at all.

MR. SCHIFF: You might be aware that Mr. Putin came to several of the construction-related events around the Agalarov projects. Apart from those development projects, do you have any personal knowledge of the Agalarovs' relationship or personal ties to Putin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No. In fact, the only time I ever heard of any relationship was when Mr. Agalarov Sr. was presented with a medal of -- I don't know if it was of honor, of freedom, of something -- and they all were very proud. And I believe Emin sent me an image of it and said, look, my dad was presented this by the President. Outside of that, no.

MR. SCHIFF: And do you know why he received that medal from Putin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know why. There was a citation that went with it, and it had something to do with business, but I don't really know why.

MR. SCHIFF: When did you first meet Ike Kaveladze?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't recall a specific first meeting, but it was very soon after I had begun working with Emin. So early in 2012.

MR. SCHIFF: And what was Ike's relationship to Emin, and what was his relationship to Aras?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Nobody ever explained to me what his relationship was to anybody. I had a relationship with him for one specific reason, and that was that I got paid as a vendor via him. So I was very friendly with him, but it was in that capacity.

He was once described to me as he was their business representative in the U.S., but, outside of that, I'd never asked any more than that.

MR. SCHIFF: And when you got paid through Ike, were you paid by the Crocus Group? Were you paid by Emin? Who was the payor?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was paid via a company within the U.S. Its name was Corsy, C-o-r-s-y.

MR. SCHIFF: And what is Corsy?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have no idea.

MR. SCHIFF: And do you know what Corsy's relationship is with the Agalarovs?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SCHIFF: And when would you first, then, have met Mr. Kaveladze? Around the time you --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Around the beginning of 2012.

MR. SCHIFF: And you were introduced by Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Again, I don't recall the actual -- I don't recall the actual day today, but most likely -- if not Emin, then by Roman. If the meeting took place here in the States, usually Roman would be the intermediary.

MR. SCHIFF: And when you would communicate with Roman, would you do it usually by phone, text, or email?

MR. GOLDSTONE: All three.

MR. SCHIFF: All three. And what text applications did you use?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Primarily WhatsApp.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you similarly communicate with Emin through these three means?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And how about Ike?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Mostly email but some WhatsApp as well.

MR. SCHIFF: And when was the last time you spoke with Mr. Kaveladze?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Probably July 10th, maybe 11th, of this year.

MR. SCHIFF: And that was shortly after the emails setting up the Trump Tower meeting were made public?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And, prior to that time, how much time had elapsed between the previous time you contacted or spoke with Mr. Kaveladze?

MR. GOLDSTONE: A few months, because I'd stopped working for Emin as of January 1st. There may have been one -- and I'm not sure. There may have been one. You know, I'd asked about possible legal representation, but that was, again, around that July time. So I think December or January would've been the last time before that.

MR. SCHIFF: So, approximately, at least a 6-month period --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Something like that.

MR. SCHIFF: -- went by before you heard from him again. It was on the subject of the disclosure of the meeting at Trump Tower.

MR. GOLDSTONE: As far as I recall, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know Oleg Deripaska?



MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SCHIFF: So you've never met or communicated with him in any way?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SCHIFF: And how about Felix Sater?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SCHIFF: So no communications with him of any kind either?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not to my knowledge, no.

MR. SCHIFF: When did you first meet Donald Trump Jr.?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I first met him either at a PGA golf championship in 2014 -- there was a brief hello. And then I met him at a dinner with Emin later in 2014 in New York City at Nobu in Midtown.

MR. SCHIFF: I'm sorry, dinner where?

MR. GOLDSTONE: At Nobu 57 in Midtown Manhattan.

MR. SCHIFF: And that would've been in 20- --

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe it was middle fall of 2014.

MR. SCHIFF: And was it Emin that brought the two of you together?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, not technically. No. It was a suggestion by Mr. Trump Sr. that Emin perhaps meet with Don to discuss his idea about a possible Trump Tower in Moscow. And so a dinner was set up, and Emin invited me to go along.

MR. SCHIFF: And tell me a little more, if you can, about the background of that. Mr. Trump Sr. asked his son to get together with Emin to discuss a possible Trump Tower?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, I don't know if that's how it worked from Mr. Trump's perspective, but certainly it was after the idea had been floated by

Emin in Moscow during Miss Universe whilst driving Mr. Trump around the property and saying they were creating some residential developments and maybe there should be a Trump Tower. I don't know how serious he was when he made the comment, but Mr. Trump immediately said, "Great idea," and then announced it at the press conference.

So it was kind of a followup to that at which Mr. Trump had suggested to Emin that he meet with Don to discuss possible logistics for it.

MR. SCHIFF: And were you in the vehicle at the time that the comment was made by Emin that the President seized on?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was not.

MR. SCHIFF: And who relayed that to you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Emin.

MR. SCHIFF: And when did you first meet Donald Trump Sr.?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I had met him briefly -- among my clients is the New York Friars Club, and I handle a lot of their roasts and their events. And Mr. Trump and his wife had attended a tribute we'd done for Larry King, and I had walked him onto the red carpet. So that's probably the first time I met him.

MR. SCHIFF: And that would have been about when?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Approximately 2010, maybe early 2011.

After that, I had a client who was a contestant on "Celebrity Apprentice." And so I'd gone to the launch day of that and the final of that, and I had briefly shaken hands with him because I was with my clients.

MR. SCHIFF: And that would have been when?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That would have been, again, I would say 2011.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. Those were the two times I first met.

MR. SCHIFF: And how about thereafter?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The next time I met him would be in that lobby, with Emin, Aras, and their family, of the Trump Hotel in Las Vegas. And that would have been mid-2013, during the Miss USA event.

MR. SCHIFF: When you would communicate with Donald Trump, did you always go through Rhona Graff?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. To the best of my knowledge, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: So you wouldn't go through Don Jr. when you wanted to get a communication to then-candidate Trump and now-President Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. The only reason I sound slightly hesitant is, when he was actively running for President, I did on occasion say to Don Jr., please send your father good wishes. I just saw him on TV, or he just did this, or he made a speech. So, on those of occasions, it was a very generic, like, "Please say congratulations." If it was a request, it went through Rhona Graff.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you have contact with anyone else from The Trump Organization apart from Donald Trump Sr., Donald Trump Jr., Rhona Graff? Were there others you dealt with in The Trump Organization?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The only other person that I recall is Keith Schiller.

MR. SCHIFF: And what contact did you have with him?

MR. GOLDSTONE: When Mr. Trump came to Moscow for the Miss Universe contest, Keith was assigned the role of security liaison between Emin's security detail, Miss Universe security, and Mr. Trump's security. So I had some interaction as to, you know, when would he arrive, when would he leave, you know, that kind of thing.

MR. SCHIFF: And, after that, did you have any written communication with Mr. Schiller or any voice communication with him?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The only other communication I recall with him is on the day of the Trump Tower meeting. I was waiting for Ike and the attorney to arrive, and I was on the mezzanine floor in a Starbucks, and I saw Keith Schiller. And I actually went over and reached out and said, "Hi. It's been a long time since Moscow. You must be crazy busy." It was one of those types of -- outside of that, no, I don't believe I did.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you tell Mr. Schiller why you were there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I didn't tell him why I was there.

MR. SCHIFF: Was there any more to the discussion you had with him?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I think I asked him something about security and how was security now that Mr. Trump was running for President. And I remember him saying something like, it's like the TSA down there. Like, just imagine airport security. That's what we've become here at Trump Tower.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you ask him, in particular, about getting your guests into Trump Tower?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not him, no. I assumed we would go the same way that, for instance, Emin and I had gone on a couple of occasions when we'd gone to see Mr. Trump.

MR. SCHIFF: And, on those occasions, what was the security protocol?

MR. GOLDSTONE: We would go to a security desk in front of the elevators, show ID, and be shown up to the boardroom area.

MR. SCHIFF: And did they have to know about your appearance in advance?

MR. GOLDSTONE: They definitely needed to know who was coming, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, there were a lot of attendees at the Trump Tower meeting. Who was responsible for getting those names to Trump Tower security in advance?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was responsible for organizing the time and day of that. And, as a result, I had told Don Jr., I believe, that it would be Ike Kaveladze and the Russian attorney. At that stage, as far as I knew and as per my emails, I wasn't staying in this meeting. I was just taking them to the security desk, taking them upstairs, and saying goodbye.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, there ended up being other individuals present at that meeting. Did you have any advance notice that they were coming as well?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe I did get a notification in the morning as I was heading out to a meeting at Sony, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And what notification was that? From whom?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe that was a notification from Ms. Veselnitskaya to say would it be okay to bring a couple of other people with, one of whom was a translator.

MR. SCHIFF: And who was the other?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm not sure of his exact name. Rinat something or other.

MR. SCHIFF: Rinat Akhmetshin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was a colleague or a -- I don't remember the exact wording, but it was a colleague or a fellow colleague. It was something like that. It implied a colleague.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you forward those additional names to Trump

Tower?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe I did.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you do any work or volunteering on the Trump campaign?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not.

MR. SCHIFF: I take it you didn't do any work on any other campaign during that Presidential cycle.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, actually, I did a little. Emin had a song called "Woman," and when Mrs. Clinton received the nomination, he and I spoke about this and said, "This would be an amazing song for them to use for her campaign."

So I did spend a bit of time and we put a little video of her success with this song together, and Emin posted it. And only when he got this big backlash from a lot of his Russian fans did he go, oh, maybe he shouldn't take this any further.

My plan at the time was, in fact, to offer this up to her campaign, because I thought it was a great way to promote Emin, and it fit what she was all about.

So I didn't technically do any work for it, but I did put a lot of work into that at the time.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you discuss with him how the Trumps might react to his providing a song to Hillary?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No. My job was to promote Emin.

MR. SCHIFF: Did Emin express any reservations about helping Mr. Trump's opponent with a song?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, he didn't express it to me, and he posted it immediately; he thought it was great. And it stayed up there for quite a while.

MR. SCHIFF: And the reaction that got him to take it down was from

whom?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Was from -- he told me, he goes, "Oh, my God, what have we done? You should see the reaction in Russia from my fans," his music fans that appeared to not be Hillary supporters.

MR. SCHIFF: And did he describe any reaction from his father?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SCHIFF: How did you come to attend the Miss Universe Pageant in Las Vegas?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I had been invited by the head of Miss Universe to be a preliminary judge on the contest, first of all. And then I was going to stay on and be there to help Emin, Aras, and their family be the kind of conduit between Paula Shughart, who's the head of Miss Universe, and ultimately she could be the conduit to Donald Trump. So I was there in a kind of coordinating role.

MR. SCHIFF: And tell me about Ms. Shughart's role with the pageant.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, as the president, everything goes through her. So she was my point of contact on almost everything.

MR. SCHIFF: Would she have been in a pivotal role also in terms of arranging the pageant in Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Arranging it inasmuch as -- I mean -- and I'm sorry, I don't mean this to be flip. She obviously didn't build things and do things, but, yes, everything had to go through her and be signed off by her. Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And with whom did you travel to the pageant in Las Vegas?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Who did I travel with?

MR. SCHIFF: Yeah.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Myself.

MR. SCHIFF: So you traveled there on your own.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Because I had been there earlier as a prelim judge about a week before. I then went to Los Angeles for a couple of days, and then I came back to Las Vegas.

MR. SCHIFF: And when you arrived back in Las Vegas, was it prior to Mr. Trump arriving?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know when he arrived in Las Vegas.

MR. SCHIFF: And how about the Agalarovs?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I arrived in time. I believe I arrived in the morning; they were arriving in either the afternoon or the early evening of the same day.

MR. SCHIFF: And you were present, I take it, when the Agalarovs or Mr. Agalarov, Aras, met Donald Trump Sr.?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was.

MR. SCHIFF: And tell us about that interaction.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was in the hotel lobby. I noticed that there was a bit of a commotion going on in one corner and spied that Mr. Trump was there, and at the same time I saw my party arriving. And within a very few minutes of me walking over to Emin and before I could even say, "It looks like Mr. Trump," Mr. Trump bellowed, "Look, it's the richest man in Russia, and he's here to see me. Welcome." And that's how their introduction took place.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, were there any private events during the days of the pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Private events? We had a private dinner that night.

MR. SCHIFF: How many days were the Agalarovs at the pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The day before, the day of, and I believe they left



somewhere around the day afterwards, so probably 3.

MR. SCHIFF: And, to your knowledge, is that the same for Mr. Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know his schedule at all.

MR. SCHIFF: The day of the meeting that you just described, was that on the day of arrival or the second day?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Day of arrival.

MR. SCHIFF: So Mr. Trump was there day of arrival, with the following day the pageant. Do you know if he was there the day after the pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't. And I actually don't know if he was there prior to that day of arrival. I just know when my folks were there.

MR. SCHIFF: I just want to make sure I'm understanding. The Agalarovs were there for 3 days.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: The day prior to the pageant --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: -- the day of the pageant --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: -- and the day after the pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: The day prior to the pageant is the day they met Mr. Trump, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. But I don't know that he arrived that day. I know they arrived that day.

MR. SCHIFF: I see. I see.

MR. GOLDSTONE: He was in the lobby. I don't know when he had

arrived.

MR. SCHIFF: And was Mr. Trump there also the day after the pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have no idea.

MR. SCHIFF: At what point during the pageant in Las Vegas did Mr. Trump announce that the Miss Universe Pageant would be held in Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Upon the crowning of the winner of Miss USA. Right afterwards, there is a press conference and a photo opportunity on the stage. Mr. Trump used that opportunity to call Emin and Aras on stage and announced to the assembled media: "I have more news. I can now tell you that the pageant will be held in Moscow."

MR. SCHIFF: And does that mean that the contract had been signed by that point?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe the contract had been signed.

MR. SCHIFF: Was there any further negotiation, to your knowledge, that took place during Las Vegas, or was the signing of the contract essentially the preordained result of --

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was very much that, you know, Aras and Emin and his family were coming there for this announcement. It was a sort of badly kept secret that it was going to take place, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: You mentioned it was a private dinner the Agalarovs had. That was with Mr. Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The dinner initially was for the Agalarovs, their guests who were there, and their family, and I was attending, a couple of other people. And I received a call from Mr. Schiller, Keith Schiller, in my room, who said, "Hey, Rob. Mr. Trump is going to join you for dinner." To which I went, "Great," hung

up the phone, called Emin and said, "You have a guest for dinner. Mr. Trump wants to join you." And that's how that came about. He joined us for dinner.

MR. SCHIFF: And who else in the Trump family was there at the pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know who was at the pageant. I don't recall seeing anybody from the Trump family at that pageant.

MR. SCHIFF: And I don't mean at the pageant itself but that whole 2 or 3 days. You didn't see anyone else in the Trump family? Only --

MR. GOLDSTONE: I didn't, no.

MR. SCHIFF: And do you know whether Mr. Trump, either at the dinner or any other time, discussed with Mr. Agalarov building a Trump Tower in Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe he did, but I don't know.

MR. SCHIFF: And what was discussed at the dinner?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was a kind of get-to-know-you kind of dinner. Emin had said to me, make sure you sit near me so that you'll think of things to say, and make sure my father sits opposite because you know he doesn't really speak English, so I have to translate -- he, when I'm saying "I" -- have to translate for him.

And it was just a very generic sort of tell us about -- you know, I threw in at one point, I said, "You know, Mr. Trump, they're known as the Trumps of Moscow. They always have been known as that." So then they had some weird conversation about that.

And it was very much those kind of things. Emin would talk about his music career, how important music was to him, and that he hoped Mr. Trump would spend some time and see their residential developments -- I'm sorry, their business developments they have in Moscow when he would be out there. And it

was that.

MR. SCHIFF: What was Mr. Trump's response to that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That he would. He guaranteed that he would spend some time. And I think it was at that point where he said, you know, you put together a schedule, and I will adhere to it, I will do what you need.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you recall what amount was paid by Aras Agalarov to Mr. Trump to bring the pageant to Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The way in which the pageant was structured was there were two parts. There were goods and services, goods being, as it sounds, hotels, per diems, food, transportation, airfares for a very large number of people. I think it was in excess of 300 people and, for many, in excess of 3 weeks.

So there was that part of it. And then there was a cash component to it. And what Mr. Agalarov was asked to do, it wasn't so much about paying for it as underwriting it, that if they didn't ultimately receive sponsorship that covered that, that he would underwrite what it was.

I believe the number was somewhere, initially, close to \$20 million, but I believe it was negotiated down, and it ended up closer to around \$15 million.

██████████ Five minutes, sir.

MR. SCHIFF: And those negotiations would have taken place between Ike Kaveladze and who in The Trump Organization, to your knowledge?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Paula Shughart.

MR. SCHIFF: And how did that whole idea come about of having the pageant in Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Emin had a single that was coming out called "Amore," and we needed to do a video. And I said I thought that for once he

should use a non-Russian, sort of, costar in it and that I had a friend who was a former Miss Universe and I would ask her. Her name is Diana Mendoza. She couldn't do it, but she said she would put us in touch with the Miss Universe organization.

Paula Shughart called me a week later and said would I come in and discuss it, and I said, "More than that, if you could do it in 2 weeks, Emin will be there. Why don't we all meet?"

I took him in. We talked about this video briefly. And Emin said, "By the way, where is the next Miss Universe going to be?" And she said, "We don't know, but we'd like to maybe do it in Azerbaijan." At which point he smiled, and he goes, "Rob, just tell them." And I said, "Well, he is married to the daughter of the President of Azerbaijan, so maybe he could, I don't know, put a word in, write a note, give you a contact." So they all smiled and did that.

And then, as we were talking more about that, Emin said, "Well, have you ever considered doing it in Moscow?" And Paula said, "I've been a couple of times to the Miss Russia pageant and I've seen a venue that I like but it's always booked." "What's the venue?" "Crocus City Hall." Emin said, "Rob, do it again." I said, "Well, he owns it. So if you really wanted to do it there, we probably could help on some level. I don't know."

And Emin said, why don't you do this? I'll assign Rob to work with you, Paula. Give me a budget, give me a sponsorship. Tell me how it works, I have no idea. He goes, but I think it would be good for us. And I said, I think it would only be good for him if he can perform. Because it's a billion TV viewers, and I'm trying to break this man. And she said, you know, anything is open for negotiation. It's on NBC.

And Emin said, right, Ike Kaveladze will deal with my dad and work out the finance and the business side, and Rob can work with you on the logistics and the creative, but I'd really like to make it happen.

So it was an off-the-cuff -- so much so that, on the way out, I had to restart the meeting. I said, we haven't discussed what we came in to discuss, which was finding someone to be in your video. So we ended up not only with having a video, which ended up being the current Miss Universe, Olivia Culpo, was in it, but suddenly we were organizing a beauty contest in Moscow at the same time.

That's how it came about.

MR. SCHIFF: And who ended up attending Miss Universe in Moscow from The Trump Organization?

MR. GOLDSTONE: As I understand it, Donald Trump, and he -- from the organization, him, basically. Because he traveled in on a friend's jet, but that friend is not involved with the organization, as I --

MR. SCHIFF: And what friend was that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Phil Ruffin or Raffin. I think it's Ruffin.

██████████ One minute, sir.

MR. SCHIFF: And who from the -- well, did Don Jr. attend?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He did not for that event.

MR. SCHIFF: Eric Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe so.

MR. SCHIFF: Ivanka?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe so.

MR. SCHIFF: Jared Kushner?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe so.

MR. SCHIFF: Keith Schiller?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He did attend.

MR. SCHIFF: Michael Cohen?

MR. GOLDSTONE: To the best of my knowledge, he did not attend, although he attended our dinner Las Vegas.

MR. SCHIFF: But you do know who Michael Cohen is.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Because I sat next to him. That's the only way I know him. I sat next to him at dinner.

MR. SCHIFF: Was that the only time you met him, to your knowledge?

MR. GOLDSTONE: To my knowledge, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And you said you don't know who Felix Sater is, so --

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't, no.

MR. SCHIFF: -- you wouldn't know whether he was there either.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I wouldn't know, no.

MR. SCHIFF: Anyone else from The Trump Organization or Trump family who attended the pageant in Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe not.

MR. SCHIFF: Thank you.

MR. CONAWAY: Trey?

MR. GOWDY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Goldstone, I'm going to try to cover a couple of different areas with you. I want to start with an email dated June 3rd, 2016, from you to Donald Trump Jr. Do you have that email in front of you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do not.

MR. GOWDY: Maybe if your counsel has it, that would be great, and if

they don't, maybe we can get you a copy of it.

MR. GAGE: We have a copy. We can dig it out. But if you've got it more convenient, that would be helpful.

If he is not able to get it within, say, a minute, let us try to dig it out.

MR. GOWDY: It wouldn't hurt my feelings if you found it first, as long as it's a copy of the email.

MR. SCHIFF: What email are you looking for?

MR. GOWDY: June 3rd email.

MR. SCHIFF: June 3rd. Do we have it?

MR. GAGE: Got it.

MR. GOWDY: Have you got it in front of you?

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know what Bates stamp number that is?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It's 61. Many zeros and 61.

MR. GOWDY: Do you need a second to familiarize yourself with it, or you got it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm familiar with it.

MR. GOWDY: All right. We're going to start with what you sent on June the 3rd, 2016. The copy I'm looking at begins "Good morning." Is that the way yours begins?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. GOWDY: I assume that's self-explanatory. Is there anything you want to add to that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. GOWDY: "Emin just called and asked me to contact you with something very interesting."



When did he call, and what precisely did he say?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He called me that morning. I don't know the exact time, but he -- well, actually, I wrote this within a few minutes of him hanging up, so probably around -- within about a half-hour of me writing this email, so say 10:00 a.m. I don't know.

He called me and said, "I wonder if you could contact the Trumps. My father just had a meeting with a Russian attorney in his office, who has some potentially damaging information about Russian funding to the Democrats and Hillary."

MR. GOWDY: You used the word "damaging"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. GOWDY: That's not the word you used in the email. Are you sure that that was the word?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. GOWDY: I don't think that was the word you used. Is it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know if it's the word I used. Let me look as well.

MR. GOWDY: You used the word "incriminate."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. GOWDY: Do those two words mean the same thing to you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: When I came to write the email, I felt it was imperative to use words that would get Don Jr.'s attention at this very busy time in the campaign. I felt I only had one shot for him to respond to this.

MR. GOWDY: And why did you think it was important to get his attention?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I only -- I worked exclusively for Emin, at this point.

He was my only client. I devoted, kind of, 24/7 attention. And I had the kind of client that if they asked you for a meeting -- and as you'll hear as I relay this conversation to you, it seemed that it was quite important that I get that.

I didn't believe that you get a second chance to ask, if somebody either ignores it or says "no" when they're busy. I needed him to react instantly.

MR. GOWDY: Why was it so important to your client?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know why it was important to my client.

MR. GOWDY: Is this the same client that did a video of his song "Woman" for Secretary Clinton?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. GOWDY: Well, you're going to have to help me understand that, how it could be so important that you get -- you used the word "damaging" and the email used the word "incriminating" information about Secretary Clinton to Donald Trump Jr., and yet it's the same guy that is posting -- what I assume to be a favorable video about her?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was neither. It was the song that just seemed to be cute if you put it with images of her. So he didn't film a video about her. It was -- we actually put it together and sent it to --

MR. GOWDY: If it was unfavorable, why were his Russian fans clamoring for him to take it down?

MR. GOLDSTONE: If it was what? I'm sorry.

MR. GOWDY: If the video was not favorable, why were his Russian fans clamoring for him to take it down?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Oh. I mean, from what he told me, it was because they weren't fans of Hillary. It had nothing to do with the video of the song.

MR. GOWDY: Okay. All right. So it was very important to your client that you contact Donald Trump Jr.

MR. GOLDSTONE: "The Trumps" is what they said.

MR. SCHIFF: The Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The Trumps, plural.

MR. GOWDY: Okay. Did he tell you what that something very interesting was?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, he said it was damaging information on funding by Russians of the Democrats and Hillary.

MR. GOWDY: Funding by Russians --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Russians, not Russia. Yeah, Russians.

MR. GOWDY: -- Russians of the Democrats and Hillary.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. GOWDY: Well, I accept that you're not an investigator and you're not the Crown prosecutor, which we'll get to in a second, but weren't you interested in what that could have been?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, I was.

MR. GOWDY: Enough to ask?

MR. GOLDSTONE: And I did.

MR. GOWDY: And what was the answer?

MR. GOLDSTONE: So I said to Emin, "Well, can you elaborate some way on this?" And the first thing is, I said, "I believe that I'm going to be asked to explain this. I can't just send an email like this. Who is the attorney?" And he said, "The attorney is well-connected." And I said, "What does that mean, 'well-connected'?" And I used quite a glib response. I said, "Well, connected to

what? The power grid?" And the answer came back as "well-connected." I didn't push any more on that.

Then I said, "Well, this damaging information, what is it? Like, I'm going to be asked. Not in specifics, but can you elaborate?" To which he said, "It doesn't matter. You just have to get the meeting. I will coordinate the meeting. You don't even have to attend the meeting or report back on it. You just have to get the meeting."

MR. GOWDY: Well, at what point in the conversation did the -- and, again, the record will reflect how you framed it. This may be an imprecise paraphrase. But Russian funding of Democrats and Secretary Clinton, where did that come out in the conversation?

MR. GOLDSTONE: At the very beginning when he said "damaging information about Russian funding of the Democrats and Hillary." I think he said "Hillary." I don't know if he said "Hillary Clinton," but I assumed there was only one Hillary at the time.

MR. GOWDY: All right.

The Crown prosecutor of Russia. Who is the Crown prosecutor of Russia?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, if I can answer that second and then maybe answer -- before I hung up this call, I pushed again to ask who this attorney was. Like, do they have any legitimacy at all? "Well-connected." And he either said it was a former or just a prosecutor. That was it.

I grew up in England, as you may have gathered, and in England, when I studied to be a journalist, we studied a little bit of law. Prosecutors all work for the Crown Prosecution Service. I refer to what you would call Federal prosecutors, both current and past, as Crown prosecutors.

So the Crown prosecutor I'm referring to in here -- I should, first of all, have said "a" Crown prosecutor, not "the" -- is actually her. I didn't know it was a her, by the way, I believe, at this stage; it was just an attorney. But the Crown prosecutor I'm talking about is her. It's my word that I use for a Federal prosecutor. It is an English-ism.

MR. GOWDY: So that's not a word Emin gave you. It's a word that you inserted.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct, to describe, when he said a prosecutor, I called it a Crown prosecutor. I mean, Russian hasn't had a crown since 1917.

MR. GOWDY: "The Crown prosecutor of Russia met with his father" -- how do you pronounce his name?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Aras.

MR. GOWDY: "-- Aras this morning and, in their meeting, offered to provide the Trump campaign with some official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary."

Is the phrase, the two-word phrase, "official document," is that what he said, or is that your interpretation of it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It's my interpretation of it.

MR. GOWDY: All right. It is critically important what you were told. So, to the absolute best of your recollection, what was the phraseology he used?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He used the phrasing that I already said. He said that the attorney had potentially damaging information about Russian funding of the Democrats and its candidate, Hillary.

MR. GOWDY: All right. And you rephrased that to be "official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary and her dealings with Russia."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. GOWDY: I don't see anything in here about the Democrats.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Right.

MR. GOWDY: Why not?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, because it was funding to the Democrats and it was kind of the Hillary -- the implication to me was that it was for her campaign. I mean, it may not be right, but that was the implication to me, that it may have something to do with the campaign. So it's my interpretation of what he said.

MR. GOWDY: Now, official documents and information are two different things.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. GOWDY: Did you draw a distinction between the two, or is that a distinction that he drew when he called you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Those words are my words.

MR. GOWDY: "It would be very useful to your father."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. GOWDY: Is that what he told you, or is that your interpretation?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, no, I mean, this is an email from me to someone that I had met a few times who was, you know, a private citizen --

MR. GOWDY: I get that, Mr. Goldstone. It's a pretty famous email right now.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I understand. Then my word. It's my interpretation.

MR. GOWDY: So every word is going to matter.

MR. GOLDSTONE: It's my interpretation.

MR. GOWDY: Okay.

This is obviously very high-level and sensitive information. What led you to write that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The fact that, you know, I was potentially sending an email -- I was sending an email that had content saying an attorney from Russia was potentially going to provide you with damaging information about Hillary Clinton, I believe, that is sensitive and confidential. Again, it's me. It's me. This is coming from me, so these are my words.

MR. GOWDY: And, again, you said something earlier on, that you only get one shot to capture someone's attention?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. GOWDY: Did you try to write it in a way that was most likely to capture someone's attention?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Absolutely.

[2:35 p.m.]

MR. GOWDY: All right. Here is a clause that we haven't addressed yet, but "as part of Russia and its government support for Mr. Trump." What led you to write that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: So I'd been to Russia, at that time, probably 12 times, including with Mr. Trump. On at least one of those occasions, I sat in on a business meeting, a gathering of major business leaders with Mr. Trump. I'd seen how they praised him. I'd seen how they supported him. I'd seen Russian TV, English RT, how President Putin supported him. I'd seen that when we tried to post something for Hillary, Emin's Russian fans were very anti-Hillary and very pro-Trump.

So it's me saying to him, Hey, Don, look, here's another example of Russia supporting your dad, let alone by Emin and Aras. "The government," again, I'd thrown in because I had seen Mr. Putin praise Mr. Trump and Mr. Trump say fabulous things about Mr. Putin.

So this is my supposition, these are my words. It's not me speaking on behalf of any --

MR. GOWDY: Well, but, Mr. Goldstone, you didn't say it is part of Russia and my client's fans.

MR. GOLDSTONE: True.

MR. GOWDY: And you didn't say it's part of Russia and some business leaders that I met with recently. You said it's part of Russia and its government's --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Right.



MR. GOWDY: -- support.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, as I say, I'd also seen President Putin on television on many occasions sing praises about Mr. Trump. So I didn't think that was necessarily a bit of a stretch also.

MR. GOWDY: Do you today have any evidence, regardless of the source and regardless really even whether or not you believe it, that the Russian Government was supporting Donald Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have no evidence of that at all.

MR. GOWDY: Did you have any at the time you wrote this?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. GOWDY: Can you see how that would be a certain eye-catching phrase?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I can.

MR. GOWDY: And your explanation for phrasing it that way is that Putin praised Trump and Trump praised Putin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: And I'd seen very senior business leaders and stalwarts of the community also praise Mr. Trump. I'd seen it firsthand. And it was a little-known secret that Russian -- if you spent time there, as I had on and off -- voiced support for Mr. Trump.

So it was a way of -- it was a schmooze tactic, as I would say in New York, to try and --

MR. GOWDY: Well, that had would be perfectly defensible if you had phrased it "Russia and the business community with whom I am familiar" or "Russia and the people that I see on the streets of Moscow." That would be easier to understand it. You said "Russia and its government support."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. GOWDY: And I'm wondering, did you then and do you now have any evidence whatsoever of the Russian Government support for Donald Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I didn't have it personally, no.

MR. GOWDY: Okay. Who did?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, you know, CNN did, because they had Mr. Putin on their channel, you know, praising Mr. Trump and Mr. Trump praising Mr. Putin. That's what I was referring to, things that I'd seen in the public space of the government -- by "the government" I'm talking about --

MR. GOWDY: Right, but it is one punctuation mark removed from "official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. I don't necessarily follow that line, but I know what you're saying, so yes.

MR. GOWDY: Oh, they're right beside each other. It is "official documents," "information," "incriminate Hillary," "Russia supports Trump." They're all right there in a row.

MR. GOLDSTONE: They are indeed.

MR. GOWDY: But your testimony is what was going through your mind was that Putin had been on CNN praising Trump.

MR. GOLDSTONE: When was going through my mind was -- I dashed this out in about 34 minutes. I had to get Donald Trump Jr. to pay attention.

MR. GOWDY: All right. Well, emails aren't under oath, ordinarily. Testimony is. So I'm going to ask you one more time: Do you have any evidence, regardless of the source, regardless of whether or not you believed it, regardless of whether it's quintuple hearsay, of the Russian Government support

for the Trump campaign?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do not.

MR. GOWDY: Now, there are a couple of words you haven't mentioned. "Emails." Was that part of your conversation with Emin? When he said official documents, information, did he ever use the word "emails"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not that I believe, no. I don't believe so.

MR. GOWDY: Would you recall it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Probably.

MR. GOWDY: Did he ever use the word "WikiLeaks"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. GOWDY: Did he ever use the name "Julian Assange"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. GOWDY: Did he ever use the phrase "homemade server"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. GOWDY: Did he ever reference the DNC server?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. GOWDY: Did he ever reference John Podesta's email?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. GOWDY: So your testimony is that you were trying to write an eye-catching email on behalf of a client; that the client himself said information damaging to the Democrats, particularly financial information, damaging to the Democrats and Hillary Clinton.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Hillary. Yeah.

MR. GOWDY: Hillary. And you're the one who then took all of that and processed it to "the Russian Government support for the Trump campaign"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, and -- yes. And, in addition, because of my concern that maybe I hadn't been given all the information, either because Emin may not have had it or may not have chosen to share it with me, then I go to the next line in here, if it's okay if we can share that, because I think it's very relevant.

MR. GOWDY: Sure.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I say, what do you think is the best way to handle this information? And would you, meaning Don Jr., be able to speak to Emin about it directly?

I put that in for a very specific reason. I had no idea what I was talking about. I was using Emin's bare facts in order to create this, get a reaction, and then I wanted those two to speak.

MR. GOWDY: And did they speak?

MR. GOLDSTONE: To the best of my knowledge, I -- well, I set up a call for them to speak. I was never informed by either side that that call hadn't happened. So, to the best of my knowledge, they spoke.

MR. GOWDY: Do you know if any official documents made their way from Emin to Donald Trump Jr.?

MR. GOLDSTONE: To the best of my knowledge, they did not.

MR. GOWDY: What do you know about Natalia Veselnitskaya?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I only know what I've read since July 9th.

MR. GOWDY: When did you meet her?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I met her in the lobby of Trump Tower on June 9th.

MR. GOWDY: Well, how do we go from this email to you meeting Natalia Veselnitskaya in the lobby of Trump Tower?

MR. GOLDSTONE: So, I think as I said earlier, my role in this, as Emin

defined it, was to get the meeting, and then Ike -- and by "Ike" I mean Irakly Kaveladze -- would organize the meeting and would who take part and who be there. I would then be asked to do logistics, which, if you follow this email trail, you'll see most of it is about the logistics.

I was merely introduced to her upon arrival. They were actually running late, so it was a very simple, "Hello. We need to get signed in and go upstairs."

And then I was actually asked by Don Jr. when I said I was leaving, as I'd done in all the emails -- I wasn't staying -- just to sit and stay and take them out again at the end of meeting. So I know her only that I spent 20 minutes of the meeting and a quick "hello" downstairs.

MR. GOWDY: You never asked her what information she might have that would benefit the Trump campaign?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I never, to the best of my knowledge, even spoke to her other than saying "hello."

MR. GOWDY: Do you know how long she had been in the United States?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't.

MR. GOWDY: Did she tell you about any other meetings she had related to the 2016 election cycle?

MR. GOLDSTONE: She did not.

MR. GOWDY: Let's go back to the video that your client made for a song that he wrote. You said you put a lot of time into it? How? In what way?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Can you clarify which -- you're talking about the video we used with the Hillary --

MR. GOWDY: Is there more than one?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, no, no. Yes, he has about 57 videos, but I

just -- I assume you mean this video in this --

MR. GOWDY: Yeah, this one. We can talk about the others some other time. This one.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yep.

MR. GOWDY: The one about the song "Woman."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah.

MR. GOWDY: You said you put a lot of time into it. How much time?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Myself and my colleague [REDACTED] who is cofounder of Oui 2 with me, found some little clips of Hillary and put the song together and sent it to Emin for his approval. We probably spent maybe half a day, on and off, doing stuff. It was an idea to give him to see if he would like it.

MR. GOWDY: Did you ever shop it to the DNC or Secretary Clinton?

MR. GOLDSTONE: We hadn't got to that stage. That was my intention, to do that.

MR. GOWDY: Well, if your earlier testimony was correct that it wasn't a favorable video for her, why would she be interested in it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, no. Maybe there was a misunderstanding. It wasn't the video wasn't favorable to her. It was a very cute video with a song that matched perfectly. It was his fans in Russia that weren't favorable towards Hillary. And so he got a lot of backlash on Instagram and Twitter and wherever he put this out.

And after a couple hours, maybe after an overnight, he said to me, "Oh, I had to take it down. I don't know if you saw all the comments from my fans in Russia, but they weren't fans."

MR. GOWDY: I did get that part of your testimony. Perhaps my

recollection is failing. I thought that you resisted the notion that it was a positive video for her. Because I was trying to understand why, on the one hand, you would offer incriminating information, official documents and otherwise, and, on the other hand, make a favorable video for her. I was trying to reconcile those two in my head.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Because, well, first of all, they came at different times. Secondly, I'm not in the slightest bit political. And, thirdly, my job was to promote Emin the best way I could. And if I had been able to convince the DNC to use this song, it would have been amazing for him.

And if ultimately my sole client asked me to send an email that's important to him and/or his father, the contents of which I'm told has nothing to do with me, because all I'm doing is securing a meeting, well, again I'll do that.

But the two are not linked in any way, shape, or form. Neither of these were sent or not sent because of any political thoughts or affiliation that I might have.

MR. GOWDY: You can see why somebody might struggle to reconcile the offer of incriminating information with the production of a favorable video, couldn't you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I can indeed.

MR. GOWDY: You say the timing isn't synched up. Help me with the chronology of it.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe that the Hillary video that we did was -- well, it was definitely before. I just can't remember how long. But it wasn't like one was on a Tuesday and on a Wednesday he asked me to do this. There seemed to be a decent amount of time between the two.

But also it's the source. The Hillary video concept came from myself and my company, that we thought this would fit the song perfectly. This request came from Emin to us. So it's not like both emanated from us -- or me.

MR. GOWDY: Have you read what's generally referred to as "the dossier"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I will assume here you're talking about what's called the Steele dossier. I haven't read it, no.

MR. GOWDY: Are you familiar with anything in it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm not familiar outside of what I've seen in media reports of it.

MR. GOWDY: Are you familiar with any of the allegations surrounding President Trump's visit, then Donald Trump's visit, to Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm familiar with what they have said, yes, in the media.

MR. GOWDY: Are you familiar with the allegation that either guests or visitors, for want of a better description, were offered to visit his hotel room?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have see that, yes.

MR. GOWDY: Do you know anything about that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't, no.

MR. GOWDY: Did you hear any such offer?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not.

MR. GOWDY: Have you heard that, in fact, some visitors or guests did go to his hotel room?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have never heard that, no.

MR. GOWDY: Well, I've asked you this, but I'm going to ask you one more



time, because it's important. Do you have any information the committee might -- even if you don't even think we should be interested in it -- any information whatsoever surrounding the Russian Government and its efforts to help Donald Trump win either the 2016 Republican nomination or the general election?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do not.

MR. GOWDY: All right. That's all I have, Mr. Chairman.

MR. CONAWAY: So, Mr. Goldstone, you've given us a narrative. Fast forward then to late June, early July, 2017, the release of these emails, et cetera. In a narrative format, just walk us through as much of a chronology as you can, with as much detail as you can, what you and the other players associated with the emails did that you're aware of.

MR. GOLDSTONE: In terms of how I found out about it?

MR. CONAWAY: Well, yeah, how you found out. Did you call each other then and say, "Oh, my gosh, what's happening?" I mean, we've got some traffic here that says that you did, in fact, communicate with certain other folks about that year previously's meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Sure.

MR. CONAWAY: Walk us through what happened, who'd you talk to, what did y'all say, that kind of stuff. Or I can plod through this thing one question at a time.

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, no.

I was overseas, I was in Greece, on July 9th, I believe it was. And I received a call from The Washington Post, from a reporter at The Washington Post, who said to me, are you Rob Goldstone? Yes. Did you happen to see a New York Times story yesterday about Donald Trump, I believe, releasing some

emails? I said, I did not. I had been on a cruise ship. I just landed, docked, whatever you do with a boat, in Greece. And they said, we believe that you're the person who sent those emails to Donald Trump Jr.; is that true? And I said yes.

And then I believe she asked me a couple of followup questions, but I didn't pay a lot of attention because my mind was kind of going around, like, what was this?

Anyway, I hung up, and I believe I either texted -- probably texted -- or emailed Emin and said, you know, I think we may need to get lawyers involved, because apparently Don Jr.'s emails have been leaked and details of the meeting have been leaked, something like that.

And he told me to speak with Ike -- which, again, is Irakly Kaveladze -- which I did. And I wanted to release a statement. And I put the outline of what I thought was a statement that I should release. I also put the outline of a statement I thought he should be ready to release.

What I did tell him at that point is that I had not identified him as the person who'd made the request. I had merely said I'd made it on behalf of a client, which was true. I just hadn't identified the client to The Washington Post, I believe it was, when they asked.

And I said, but I don't know how long that will last, but that's where it is so far. I'm trying to protect you and your dad, as I would any client. And if it holds, it holds, and when it's time, I'll tell them what it is.

So, after that, I put a statement ready. They suggest I don't do that. I wait, and Ike will speak with some lawyers. Nothing happened for another day.

And then the day after, I said, you know, I'm going to need my own representation for sure, because I'm now being bombarded with media requests,

as I was, and being, you know, what we call doorstepped outside my hotel. I was still overseas. I was in Europe. And so and so, it went on.

So that was -- and then I got an attorney, who is seated next to me. And the advice was, in fact, for me to --

MR. GAGE: Well, you shouldn't get into the attorney's advice.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Okay. Fine.

There you go. Who gave me advice.

MR. GAGE: Nobody is asking that.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Good. Okay.

Who gave me advice. And that's it. That's my best recollection. Without having anything in front of me, that's my best recollection of how it went down.

MR. CONAWAY: Why did you think you needed an attorney? Had you thought you'd done something wrong?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I thought I needed an attorney because the level of interest from the media -- and I'm somebody who'd worked in the media for 20 or 30 years -- shocked me. I was being doorstepped by camera crews in my hotel. My phone was ringing day and night. And I just thought I needed advice. You know, I'm a music publicist. I deal in a completely different world. And I tried to get people in the media for 30 years, and suddenly there am I in the middle of all of this. I just thought it was prudent to at least speak to an attorney, no matter what.

MR. CONAWAY: All right.

So we've got -- I don't know if this -- Bates stamp 277 through 245. Maybe this is a typo here, but it's dated June -- this says it's dated June the 3rd, 2017.

MR. GAGE: I'm sorry. What were the Bates numbers again?

MR. CONAWAY: 227 through 245 -- through 2245. And I'm just going off the summary that was prepared.

MR. GAGE: Okay.

MR. CONAWAY: Is that the right date? What is the date?

MR. GOLDSTONE: 227 is June 3rd of 2017.

MR. CONAWAY: So that's well in advance of that Washington Post telephone call.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. CONAWAY: How had you gotten wind that this was coming unwrapped?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I had received a voice message, a voicemail, whatever you call it, from somebody called Alan Garten, who had asked me if I would return their call. And I did return the call. And, at the time, I don't know the exact words he used, but he said he was either Don Jr.'s lawyer or he was a lawyer for the Trump -- I think he may have said for The Trump Organization.

MR. CONAWAY: How did you spell his last name?

MR. GOLDSTONE: G-a-r-t-e-n, Garten.

MR. CONAWAY: All right.

MR. GOLDSTONE: And he said to me simply that, did I have any recollection of the meeting that had taken place at Trump Tower? And I said, you know, not a lot, but I will be happy to share it. And that was what this was all about.

MR. CONAWAY: So at 230, Bates stamp 230 --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. CONAWAY: -- are these your words? "I hope this favor was worth it

for your dad. It could blow up."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. CONAWAY: So that's Aras and Emin we're talking about, right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm speaking to Emin, "I hope it's worth it for your dad, Aras."

MR. CONWAY: And by "blow up," you're talking about all the media attention that occurred --

MR. GOLDSTONE: All the media attention.

MR. CONAWAY: -- in July?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah.

MR. CONAWAY: And then why -- you said, I've got 20 years of reputation destroyed by this dumb meeting which your father -- "your father" I guess is Aras -- insisted on even though Ike and me told him it could be bad news and not to do."

Is that the right phraseology.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm just going to --

MR. CONAWAY: It's page 233.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Ah, thank you. Yeah. I'm sorry. Yes.

MR. CONAWAY: That sentence says, I have 20 years of reputation.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. CONAWAY: Help me understand why you felt like your personal reputation was destroyed. Had you are done something wrong?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No. I mean, I was --

MR. CONAWAY: Or is this one of those eye-catching phraseologies --

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. CONAWAY: -- to make sure you had Emin's attention?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, it may have done that as well. But, no, what it was saying was, I felt that this meeting and this situation that I had been put into -- I work with the media on an everyday basis. Well, I now was trying to avoid the media. So I couldn't even --

MR. CONAWAY: Well, this is June 3rd --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. CONAWAY: -- and nobody's talked to you yet except the lawyers.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Right.

MR. CONAWAY: Okay.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Oh, no, no, no. I don't believe -- no. I don't believe this is it. It may not be date-stamped, but I believe this is referring to, look, read all the online stories on me, you guys are clean. This is a July --

MR. CONAWAY: This text message string, though -- okay.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. CONAWAY: So this starts on June 3rd?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. CONAWAY: And then there's a running commentary over the same period of time.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. CONAWAY: Ah. Well, that makes a little more sense. Because I'm thinking, if a lawyer calls me and talks about something that might happen --

MR. GOLDSTONE: I understand.

MR. CONAWAY: -- I don't have that kind of reaction.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. No. When I say, you know, read all the online

stories on me, you guys are clean, it's kind of saying, this is all on me now, look at all the press that's run.

MR. CONAWAY: All right. Now, this is '17. They are no longer your employer.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. CONAWAY: Okay. That stopped at the 1st of '17.

MR. GOLDSTONE: January. Yes.

MR. CONAWAY: All right.

What else concerned you, other than your own personal interests that might be affected by whatever is going on with these other exchanges? Anything that I'm missing here besides that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, you know, I was -- you know, to use a plain, old, simple word, I was scared. I work in music publicity, where people deal in egos and is a record up or down. I don't deal in this world. So it was alien to me. And I was really nervous. I had journalists calling me off the hook, following me. And I didn't know what to do, for want of a better word. So, yes, it was a really odd time.

MR. CONAWAY: All right.

So how is it you know an Anthony Scaramucci?

MR. GOLDSTONE: How do I know him? Well, I don't know him other than I saw him on TV.

MR. CONAWAY: Well, there's an email from him to you.

MR. GOLDSTONE: There's an email that's purportedly from him to me.

MR. CONAWAY: Ah. So you don't know Mr. --

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know him. And when I received that email, I

didn't do anything with it other than forward it to my attorney, because I believed it may have been fake.

MR. CONAWAY: Ah. Okay. So it was unsolicited.

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was unsolicited.

MR. CONAWAY: I gotcha.

All right. We will now go to -- do you need a break real quick?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, if we could.

MR. CONAWAY: All right. Let's take 5 minutes. We'll start back up at 3:05, your side.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. Great. Thanks.

[Recess.]

MR. CONAWAY: Mr. Schiff, 15 minutes.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Goldstone, let me just ask you a few questions about the June meeting, and then we're going to go back over and sort of continue with the chronology. We'll have a lot more questions about the June meeting, as you might imagine, later on.

But Emin called you just before you composed the email to Don Jr. seeking the meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: That is correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And I think you testified that it seemed quite important to Emin that this meeting get established?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And did it seem that he knew the reasons why it was that important? Or it was very important to his father, but he couldn't tell you precisely



why?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It seemed to me that it was very important for him to do this for his father. I don't know whether he couldn't or wouldn't provide me with any further detail.

MR. SCHIFF: And each time you pressed him about who this government attorney was, he responded to you three times by saying that this attorney was well-connected --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: -- but wouldn't tell you whether that was well-connected to the government? Is that right, he wouldn't tell you --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: Or well-connected to Russian intelligence?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: Or well-connected to the Kremlin or any --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Or to anything.

MR. SCHIFF: -- anything else. All he was willing to tell you is that the government attorney was well-connected.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. And I believe he also, as I think I said before, had mentioned that even this -- that this attorney was either a former or a current prosecutor.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, there have been press reports about the prosecutor general -- Chaika is his name -- and Chaika's role in the Magnitsky Act. Are you familiar with that press reporting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know of that specific one, but I have seen numerous press reports implying that I was referring to a Mr. Chaika.

MR. SCHIFF: And it's your testimony today that you were referring to a government prosecutor. That's what you meant by a Crown prosecutor.

MR. GOLDSTONE: It is indeed. I was referring to the person I would later discover was called Natalia Veselnitskaya. It was this particular attorney that I was referring to, using my British terminology.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, now, did you know whether it was Ms. Veselnitskaya that Emin was referring to, or could he have been referring to Mr. Chaika?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He was referring to this particular attorney. It's just I don't believe I knew -- in fact, I'm sure I didn't know this attorney's name at the time.

MR. SCHIFF: Did he know or did he describe to you whether this attorney was doing this errand on someone else's behalf?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He did not say that, no.

MR. SCHIFF: So you wouldn't know whether Ms. Veselnitskaya was doing this on behalf of Mr. Chaika.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I would not, no.

MR. SCHIFF: Had Emin ever asked to you set up a meeting of this kind before?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not of this kind, no.

MR. SCHIFF: Had he asked to you set up any meeting with The Trump Organization before?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Only meetings where he and I would swing by -- I think we did three of them -- to say hello to Mr. Trump on the occasions, which were quite few, that Emin was in New York.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, the video that you mentioned that used images of

Hillary to the music of Emin, this, to the best of your recollection, took place sometime prior to the meeting at Trump Tower?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Again, I'm not sure of the date, but it took place at a time that either she'd received the nomination or it was clear that she was about to receive the nomination as the Democratic candidate. So it may not have been when she officially was nominated, but it was at a time when people were saying this is going to be the Democratic candidate, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: But the best of your recollection is that would've taken place -- the video would've taken place before the Trump Tower meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: To the best of my knowledge, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And since you were discussing damaging information about Hillary, presumably that would not have taken -- the video would not have taken place after that, I would take it.

MR. GOLDSTONE: And I just want to, just for clarification's sake, Emin didn't film the video. Me and my colleagues, within our role as his publicists, cut together a video based on his song, "Woman."

He merely posted it as, "Congratulations." I believe the caption he put was just "Congratulations. The first woman to run for President of the U.S.," something like that. So he didn't film it specifically.

MR. SCHIFF: Right. But in terms of the chronology, just so that he understand it, the best of your recollection is that it would've been prior to the meeting at Trump Tower. Is that, in part, because if you're talking about damaging information on Hillary during the Trump Tower meeting, it would be less likely you would be doing a promotional video after that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: To be honest, it wouldn't be less likely. As I say,

again, my role was to promote Emin and break Emin. My role wasn't, isn't, and has never been political. I know it sounds a little bit strange, maybe, to people listening, but they were two very separate things. One was an idea generated by us; one was a request that came from him.

MR. SCHIFF: To the best of your recollection, though, was it before or after the Trump Tower meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe it was before.

MR. SCHIFF: And it was some time before, I think you said.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe so.

MR. SCHIFF: The video was designed to promote Emin, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The video, which would have lasted all of about a minute, a minute and a half, was designed to promote Emin, his current single, which was called "Woman." And the cute idea was that there's a woman running for the President of the USA.

MR. SCHIFF: But your interest and Emin's was in promoting Emin, not promoting Hillary.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And in terms of the motivation for the meeting at Trump Tower, that was not for Emin, that was for Aras?

MR. GOLDSTONE: My role in it was to do what my client had asked me to do, which would be Emin. What his motivation was I'm not quite sure.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, you told Emin you thought, though, at the time he asked you to set this up, this was a bad idea.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Tell us about that.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I said to him, "I'm a music publicist. I know nothing about politics. You're a musician and a Russian businessman, so you probably know nothing about politics either. And, as far as I know, your father knows absolutely nothing about politics." That's basically how the conversation went, almost word for word.

MR. SCHIFF: And this was during the same conversation where he was asking you to set up the meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And so you told him what? That you thought this was a bad idea?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And what was his response?

MR. GOLDSTONE: "Can you just get a meeting?"

MR. SCHIFF: And was it your understanding from this that these were the marching orders from his father?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No. I got the impression these were the marching orders from him to me.

MR. SCHIFF: Correct. But he was asking you to do this not because he thought it was a good idea but because his father wanted it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I mean, I don't know what was in his mind, but he did say the lawyer had met with his father that morning, so there was an implication that maybe -- but he didn't say, "My father has asked me to do this." So my marching orders kind of came from him, from Emin.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, he did communicate to you that the request comes from his father, didn't he?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He said to me that his father had met with a Russian attorney in his office that day, and could I set up a meeting with the Trumps. So the implication was that one went with the other.

MR. SCHIFF: And you wanted to arrange a call between Emin and Don Jr. --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: -- so that you wouldn't have to characterize what would be discussed at the meeting; he could do that directly.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And whatever information he might be reluctant to tell you about this well-connected attorney he could just tell Don Jr. directly.

MR. GOLDSTONE: That was my thinking in writing that.

MR. SCHIFF: And, as far as you know, that conversation did take place, and whatever information was necessary to secure the meeting was communicated orally by Emin to Don Jr.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I know that there was a time set aside for that conversation to take place. I know that I exchanged numbers with them so that Emin would know what number to call. And I was never told by either part that that call did not take place.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay.

Let me go back in the chronology, if I could, to the Miss Universe Pageant in Moscow. What do you recall was Keith Schiller's role at that pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was told that he was Mr. Trump's personal security, head of security.

MR. SCHIFF: And would he interface with whom as a result?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Emin's head of security.

MR. SCHIFF: Did Aras have the same head of security as Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Aras has a different security detail than Emin at all times.

MR. SCHIFF: And would they be interacting with Mr. Schiller as well?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe it was Emin's head of security that interacted at all times.

MR. SCHIFF: If Mr. Schiller had a conversation with someone during the pageant who had offered to send women to Mr. Trump's room, were you privy to that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was not privy to it, no.

MR. SCHIFF: And if that were to be arranged, that would have to be arranged via -- would it be via Emin's security and Mr. Schiller?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Would you just clarify, if what could be arranged?

MR. SCHIFF: If someone was going to be escorted to Mr. Trump's room, Mr. Schiller would have to negotiate that with whom?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I mean, I have no idea.

MR. SCHIFF: Would anyone other than Emin's security or entourage be responsible for making that kind of an offer?

MR. GOLDSTONE: As far as I am aware, Emin's head of security looked after Mr. Trump during the times he was in our care, which is the specific events that we had organized for him and the pageant itself, and Mr. Schiller looked after Mr. Trump at all other times.

MR. SCHIFF: I want to ask this question in a way that we don't get into too many of the details of other testimony.

In terms of the security protocols, as you understood them, if someone was going to make an offer to send women to Mr. Trump's room, who would that need to be cleared by?

MR. GAGE: Congressman, I just think it calls for so much speculation.

MR. SCHIFF: I'd ask just to your knowledge.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, I mean, I don't really have knowledge of who it would be. I mean, it's a public hotel. Apart from anything else, it's a hotel. We're talking about a hotel. For anybody to be able to access Mr. Trump, including me, I would normally go through Keith Schiller.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know how long Mr. Trump was in Moscow for the Miss Universe Pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. He was there approximately 36 hours.

MR. SCHIFF: And on what basis do you know that he was there for 3 days?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Thirty-six hours. Because we originally had expected him to come for an additional day, and --

MR. SCHIFF: Sorry, 36 hours.

MR. GOLDSTONE: -- a couple of days before, we were informed by Paula Shugart that Mr. Trump had to attend an important event here in the States and would come for 24 hours less. So that gave -- the reason I know is because I had to scramble to put what was 2-1/2 or 3 days' worth of events into 36 hours.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, when you say 36 hours, you're talking about an evening, a day, and another evening? Or what are you describing?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He arrived the afternoon prior to the final. So we had him for the afternoon, the evening, all of the next day. And then the contest



ended around 11:30 p.m., maybe even midnight, and he left about 3:00 a.m.

██████████ One minute, Mr. Schiff.

MR. SCHIFF: There's a voicemail that you produced to the committee, I think from Emin, which states that "mine and my dad's position would be no comment due to the fact that Mr. Trump is the President and you knew any information we might reveal might hurt him, harm him, or used against him because we contacted Miss Universe in Russia and during Miss Universe we spent 3 days together."

What would that refer to, the 3 days together? Would that indicate that Mr. Trump was there for 3 days or --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, day before --

MR. SCHIFF: -- during parts of 3 days?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: So that would suggest to you that he was there for parts of 3 different days.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

██████████ That's time.

MR. CONAWAY: Another 15-minute round, Mr. Schiff.

MR. SCHIFF: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Alimzhan Tohtahunov -- I probably pronounced that terribly -- who owns a unit in Trump Tower, was invited to be a VIP at the Miss Universe event. Do you recognize that name at all?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know him.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay.

You mentioned a lunch at Nobu restaurant. Was that the lunch that was

hosted by Herman Gref and Sberbank?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, Herman Gref was probably the highest-ranking guest of honor. I'd always understood that it was Aras Agalarov that had organized a kind of welcome reception -- it was about 4:00 or 5:00 in the evening -- with about 20 business leaders to meet Mr. Trump. Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And that would've been the first day of the event?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, directly from the airport because of his late scheduling.

MR. SCHIFF: So Mr. Ruffin would have attended, or would he?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know if he did. I don't believe he did, no.

MR. SCHIFF: But both father and son Agalarov did?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Was Roman Abramovich as well?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SCHIFF: How about Sergei Millian?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know who that is.

MR. SCHIFF: And do you recall what the nature of the discussion of that lunch was, or at that lunch?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was very much a welcome to Moscow. Emin made a few opening remarks welcoming Mr. Trump and hoping that they would have a great pageant. They then opened it up for discussion. And a couple of general questions were asked of Mr. Trump -- what he thought of Russia, what he thought of the economy. I remember him saying that they had a great economy, it was booming, and he had a lot of praise for Mr. Putin.

Outside of that, I only remember something which was more amusing, that

somebody asked him about the European debt crisis and how he would handle the Greek -- what he thought of the Greek bailout. And his answer was, had they ever heard of "The Apprentice"? It was a show that he created with Mark Burnett. And he talked for about 5 minutes about the success of "The Apprentice," thanked everybody, and got a standing ovation.

MR. SCHIFF: And were there representatives there from VTB Bank as well as Sberbank?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Possibly. That rings some bells, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And how about Rosneft?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Don't know.

MR. SCHIFF: Gazprom?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Don't know. I know they'd been approached as a sponsor, which is why I'm hesitating. So possibly, but not to my -- I don't know.

MR. SCHIFF: Did he announce any intention to establish businesses in Russia?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe so at that time.

MR. SCHIFF: So there was no discussion about establishing a skyscraper that you can recall or a Trump Tower in Russia?

MR. GOLDSTONE: To my knowledge, he talked about Trump Tower first at a press conference which took place after that meeting. He may have mentioned it to some of the people there, but I didn't hear it.

MR. SCHIFF: I'm sorry. I just want to make sure I'm following this. So, to your recollection, the first time he talked publicly or at all in your presence about a Trump Tower was not at that lunch but at a public press conference afterwards.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. It's not public, but, yes, public to the media,

yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, were there plans in place originally for Mr. Putin to attend the Miss Universe Pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: There were no plans for him to attend. However, it had come up a number of times. Paula and I had often on a much more casual basis said, oh, my God, will Putin come, not come, whatever. Every time I asked Emin, he said, you know, we have to go through official channels, we can put in a request, and let's see. And it was on that basis that we had no knowledge of whether he would or would not attend.

MR. SCHIFF: But, originally, didn't the Presidential administration tell Aras that he would be attending?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know whether Dmitry Peskov ever called anyone at the event to let them know that -- to extend apologies that Mr. Putin would not be able to attend?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, I do.

MR. SCHIFF: And how do you know about that call?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was in a conference room with Mr. Trump, Emin, Aras, Keith Schiller, maybe Paula Shugart, maybe not, I'm not sure. And a call came through from Mr. Peskov on behalf of the President, who said -- and Emin translated this for the room -- that because the King of Holland was running late, had been delayed, and was on an official state visit, he'd be unable to welcome Mr. Trump.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay.

Let me now go to some of the documents, if I could.

There's an interview from The Washington Post as part of the materials that you've provided. Under what circumstances did you acquire a copy of that article? Why is that part of the materials that you produced?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Could I get a reference to it so I could look at it?

MR. SCHIFF: Yes. Bates stamp number 11. I think it followed the email exchange with Emin regarding a Washington Post inquiry.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm sorry. So your question was?

MR. SCHIFF: How this article came to your attention.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe either Emin or Aras sent it to me to have a look at and to pass on to my colleague, David, who handles publicity -- he's our director of publicity for my company. I believe. I don't know.

MR. SCHIFF: In the article -- or, actually, rather, I guess, a transcript of a recording that Aras and Emin gave with Michael Birnbaum of The Washington Post, Emin says, "We found some sponsorship money to do that," speaking of the Miss Universe Pageant, "from Sberbank, from Russian Standard, and a few other companies."

Were you familiar with the money that came from Sberbank for the pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I wasn't familiar with the actual money, but I did know that they had received sponsorship from Sberbank because it had to be included in all the materials we were producing. So yes.

MR. SCHIFF: On page 14, Bates stamp 14, Aras Agalarov says, "Another amusing thing" -- this is about five or six lines down, where he's quoted.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah.

MR. SCHIFF: "Another amusing thing. When we finished everything, and

I should note that when I told the Presidential administration that Trump was coming and I told them what kind of event we were hosting and how it would be seen by many people over the world, the Presidential administration responded that Vladimir Putin would like to meet Mr. Trump."

Did the Agalarovs ever tell you that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: They didn't tell me that directly, no.

MR. SCHIFF: He goes on to say that he was later told by the head of protocol that unfortunately Mr. Putin would not be able to make our meeting.

So you were unaware that there was an original agreement to send Mr. Putin that was later canceled?

[2:35 p.m.]

MR. GOLDSTONE: What I was aware of throughout the time, especially in the final few weeks running up to it, it was kind of the white elephant in the room. Everybody wanted to know, would Mr. Putin, not so much attend, because Emin had already said, if this was in America, would Barack Obama attend? Probably not. It's a beauty pageant. But there is a chance, maybe, of some kind of meeting.

His answer was always the same, which is, my father will go through the official channels, we have to just wait. Nobody else knew anything about that.

MR. SCHIFF: On page 16 of the same document, Mr. Birnbaum asks: "Why did President Putin want to have the meeting?"

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. SCHIFF: And Aras Agalarov responds: "Well, first of all, I convinced him to."

Was your understanding from Emin or from Aras that he had that kind of relationship with Putin, close enough to persuade him to come to an event like a pageant?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I mean, he obviously didn't convince him very well because he didn't come. But no, I -- no. I mean, I never heard him say anything about his connection with or to Mr. Putin or the government.

MR. SCHIFF: On page 23 of the same interview, Mr. Birnbaum asked: "Do you have a productive relationship with Vladimir Putin? I know you were picked by the Russian Government to develop the Far Eastern Federal University."

And at the end of his response -- in the middle he says: "So in the process of construction, Putin, first as Prime Minister and then as President, visited the site

five times." And he concludes by saying: So how do the President feels about us especially now that we are building two stadiums for the FIFA World Cup? That's the relationship we have."

So that kind of relationship was not brought to your attention?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I never ever really had any conversations with Aras, especially about his side of business. Mine was very much light and entertainment and trying to help his son climb a ladder, both at home and abroad.

MR. SCHIFF: On the next page, 24, Birnbaum asks why he received the Order of Honor from Putin, and he says: "Yes, that was the biggest construction in the contemporary history of Russia."

Was that your understanding, too, that the Agalarovs were responsible for the biggest construction project in modern Russia?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Let me just look at that for a minute.

No. I mean, I didn't -- I was just trying to work out if I could even work out what that related to. So, no, I didn't. I knew they were very major developers, but not like this.

MR. SCHIFF: Who is [REDACTED]?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He is the director of publicity for my company, my cofounder in We Too.

MR. SCHIFF: If I could turn your attention to Bates stamp 38. There is a message from [REDACTED] to [REDACTED]. Is that Emin's address?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Emin, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. Emin, sorry. And you are copied on it.

It reads, "Although Trump is popular in Russia, the whole of the American and world media is going after him in a really horrible, damaging way, and one of



the things that they are focusing on is Trump's connection to Russia, of which you are a key element. You do not want to get caught up in that, really. The author of this piece got his info from the Forbes article you did, and in writing this one, is trying to equate you and Aras to Trump, with Olivia in the mix."

Who is Olivia?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Miss Universe that was in our video.

MR. SCHIFF: And not in the business sense. What is he referring to there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I mean, I don't know. I would think probably in a friendship sense of the Trumps and the Agalarovs. I don't know.

MR. SCHIFF: "I know there's been a lot of focus on your family's wealth in past media, but all of that was playfully and mostly just a curiosity to see how you live. This is very different, just so we are aware."

Was this a response to the email that you had sent, "Story today on Trump and Moscow Miss Universe. Might be from that interview you and your dad did."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah, it looks like that. Yeah.

MR. SCHIFF: And as a reply to that, Emin writes: "Agree, but what is there to do?" Is that correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And then Mr. Wilson responds on Bates stamp 40: "Not to link you and your father up with Trump socially or as close friends. There should be a respectful distance."

██████████ One minute.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. SCHIFF: So was Mr. Wilson suggesting that the relationship should

be played down?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I think that what he is trying to say is that there were a lot of people trying to link the two of them as they're billionaires, they're developers, and whatever, and we shouldn't, as his publicist, try to fuel that. So therefore we should turn down interview requests. It was at a time when a lot of media wanted to interview Emin -- Aras to a smaller extent -- but Emin on the relationship between him and Mr. Trump.

MR. SCHIFF: I yield back.

MR. CONAWAY: All right.

Any questions?

MR. GOWDY: No.

MR. CONAWAY: Fifteen minutes.

MR. SCHIFF: Thank you.

Okay. Let me start going over some of the documents related to the Trump Tower meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. SCHIFF: So the morning of June 3 -- and you have gone over this, I know, with my colleague -- the Crown Prosecutor of Russia met with his father, Aras, in the morning. So the morning in which you sent this email, a prosecutor from Russia, current or past, had met with Aras. That was your understanding from talking to Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And in their meeting offered to provide the Trump campaign with some official documents and information.

Did you presume they were official documents, information because this

was a government attorney?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: That would be damaging to Hillary or, in your words, in the email incriminate Hillary in her dealings with Russia.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you know whether those documents or information took the form of emails or financial documents or any other type of documents?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not know that, no.

MR. SCHIFF: And Emin wasn't going to get into detail with you just about what kind of information this was?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did press a few times, but I only got these bare facts.

MR. SCHIFF: "Which would be very useful to your father." And there you are describing that this damaging information will be useful to Mr. Trump in the campaign, I take it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: "This is obviously very high level and sensitive information." Did you conclude that because even Emin wouldn't tell you the nature of it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not just that, but yes. But also because what he had told me, in my opinion as having been a journalist and as a publicist for many years, it is potentially damaging and sensitive and high level information.

MR. SCHIFF: Especially if it is coming from someone he described three times as a well-connected government employee?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That was my opinion.

MR. SCHIFF: And you ask Don Jr. there: "What is the best way to handle the information? Would you be able to speak to Emin about it directly? You can

send the info to his father via Rhona, but it is ultrasensitive." And you wanted him to see it first, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And when he gets this email from you, he suggests that it would be better for him to talk to Emin rather than you send the material to Rhona?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And he also adds, "Seems we have some time, and if it's what you say, I love it, especially later in the summer."

What do you think he is referring to when he says "later in the summer"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I mean, I don't know specifically what he's referring to, but I assumed it was around the time of the nomination.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, he's setting up the meeting, or at this point he's telling you that he will speak to Emin about it, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And as far as you can tell, he does speak to Emin, because you never learned to the contrary after setting up the call?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, I also, if you follow the email chain, it does suggest that also, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And he says that we have some time for the meeting, I take it that's what he is referring to?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: But in terms of the material, he's saying that he would love to get the damaging information later in the summer, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That's what it appears to say, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: So he's distinguishing between the time of the meeting and the time that he wants to get delivery of the damaging information?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Or he's saying that he loves the idea of the information because of the benefit. It could help them in the summer, whatever was happening that summer. I don't know exactly what was happening.

MR. SCHIFF: But as you say, that would be --

MR. GOLDSTONE: The nomination, I would --

MR. SCHIFF: -- the nomination.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, that was my understanding of it.

MR. SCHIFF: "And could we do a call first thing next week when I'm back?" So that was the earliest that it would be convenient for him to do the call.

MR. GOLDSTONE: With Emin.

MR. SCHIFF: With Emin.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And the next communication is later that day you write to Rob and communicate that Don Jr. wants to speak personally with him early next week.

MR. GOLDSTONE: To Emin, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: From Emin.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And Emin replies, "Great."

MR. GOLDSTONE: So now I have made both parties aware of the need -- the desire of each other to speak to each other.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, that message -- and I think I've gone out of chronology just from the Bates stamp order -- comes after a message from Emin to you

saying, "Trump's son call any news, Emin?"

MR. GOLDSTONE: That's 3 days later, on June 6.

MR. SCHIFF: Oh, I'm sorry, okay. So he's following up to find out, has the call been scheduled?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: So it's clear to you, is it, from this that he's not going to let this drop, this is important to get done?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That he wants the call, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And you say on June 6, "Not yet, but he said when he returns to New York City, which for sure is after tomorrow, and it's the Super Tuesday elections tomorrow in California, where Trump will be crowned the official nominee, most likely return Wednesday and I will set up the call." That's from you. And then he says, "Okay."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And then later that day, you follow up -- that same day -- oh, I guess in between when you heard from Emin, and before you responded to him you emailed Don Jr. to say: "Hi, Don. Let me know when you're free to talk with Emin by phone about this Hillary info you had mentioned early this week. So wanted to try to schedule a time and day. Best to you and family, Rob Goldstone."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. SCHIFF: So you are following up on his query about "How's it coming?"

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And then Don Jr., at 3 in the afternoon, says, "Rob, can we

speak now?"

MR. GOLDSTONE: And the "speak" is referring to Emin --

MR. SCHIFF: To Emin.

MR. GOLDSTONE: -- not to me, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And at 3:37 you replied back to Don Jr., "Let me track him down to Moscow. What number could he call?" And he responds 1 minute later with his cell phone, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: You then email a few minutes after that, "Okay, he's on" -- back to Don Jr. -- "Okay, he's on stage in Moscow, but should be off within 20 minutes, so I'm sure can call." And Don Jr. says, "Rob, thanks for the help," correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. SCHIFF: The following day, at 4:20 in the afternoon, you write to Don again and you say, "Hope all is well. Emin asked for that scheduled meeting with you and the Russian Government attorney who's flying over from Moscow for this Thursday. I believe you are aware of the meeting, and so wondered if 3 p.m. or later on Thursday works for you. I assume it would be at your office."

When you say, "I believe you are aware of the meeting," is that because you're assuming that they've talked?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. And what I'm saying is, I assume you're aware of the meeting. He obviously knew there was a request for a meeting because it had come from me. What I'm saying here is, I now understand, I assume you are aware of what the meeting is about, but I'm just trying to see if you are aware of the meeting, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Meaning that he is aware of what the contents of the meeting --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Meaning that he's spoken to Emin. Because I had received a call earlier on from, I believe, from Emin just saying, just call Don now to schedule a time and the date. So the inference was, nobody is telling me, well, we didn't speak, you could see Emin was eager to do it. Somebody would have said the call never happened.

MR. SCHIFF: So somebody -- I'm sorry, who called you to tell you --

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe Emin called or left a message -- I don't know which -- just to say, can you call Don and schedule it?

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. So that was an indication to you that Emin had --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, yes. I mean, he didn't say, "I have spoken." But equally he didn't say, "I haven't spoken."

MR. SCHIFF: Right. And also he communicated, the meeting is a done deal. Can you schedule it now?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah. Not in those words, but can you schedule it now?

MR. SCHIFF: And you emailed, "Well, then I guess you hear back from Don Jr. about the timing."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. SCHIFF: At 3 o'clock. And you later reply, "Perfect. I won't sit in on the meeting, but will bring them at 3 and introduce you, et cetera. I will send the names of the two people meeting with you for security when I have them later today."

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.



MR. SCHIFF: At that point it was your expectation on June 7 that it would just be the government lawyer. Did you know it was Veselnitskaya at that point?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe not. No.

MR. SCHIFF: Who communicated to you then that it would be two people?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Either Emin or Ike, because Ike was going to be the other person.

MR. SCHIFF: So you just knew it was two people, but at that point still didn't know whom?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, I did know. I knew one was Ike and one was Veselnitskaya. One was Ike and one was the attorney who I now know is Veselnitskaya.

MR. SCHIFF: I see.

On June 7, on Bates stamp 70, you email Ike, someone at the address of

██████████ Who is that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, I have since learned that's Ms. Veselnitskaya's email.

MR. SCHIFF: And where did you get that email?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know, to be honest. I don't know. But I would imagine I would have got it from Ike because he was coordinating the meeting.

MR. SCHIFF: And how would you have gotten it from Ike? Would he have emailed you or texted you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Or would have emailed Roman or texted him. He was often our intermediary. I don't have a record of receiving it like as anything officially, but maybe I was called and given it. I don't know the answer to it. But

that is her email, I understand.

MR. SCHIFF: And you get a reply back June 7, 6:15 p.m., from Don Jr. saying: "Great, it will likely be Paul Manafort, campaign boss, my brother-in-law, and me."

So on the basis of what information you presume you received from Emin, he was scheduling the meeting for not only himself, but for the campaign chairman and his brother-in-law.

MR. GOLDSTONE: That was my understanding.

MR. SCHIFF: The following day, June 8, you send -- or Ike Kaveladze sends you sent an e-mail, "I just spoke with that lady from Russia." And he's trying to change the meeting time.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. SCHIFF: Does that indicate to you that he had already talked to you about the fact that it was a woman?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Probably at that -- because probably I had already sent Don the names, though I don't have a record of that.

I'm not sure. And it's written in a strange way, "I spoke with that lady from Russia." But the implication would probably be that somebody -- again, probably Roman would have told me that it was a lady and what her name was as opposed to Ike.

MR. SCHIFF: Did Kaveladze know Veselnitskaya?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. So let's go to the meeting then. Apart from the email correspondence that I have just walked you through, what discussions did you have prior to the meeting with either Kaveladze, Roman, or Emin about what

would be discussed at the meeting or who was going to be attending?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I had no discussions about what was going to be discussed. I wasn't even supposed to be at the meeting.

And as far as who was attending, I believe on the day of the meeting, as I was leaving to go to Sony Music for a meeting, Ms. Veselnitskaya did send me an email saying: Would it be okay to bring two other people with me? And my answer was a sort of flippant: Bring however you want. Make sure they have ID. That was my only concern, that we didn't get held up at security.

██████████ One minute.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you have any conversation with Roman about the meeting being about providing dirt on Hillary Clinton?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know in specifics, but I would be surprised if I hadn't had that conversation with him. Sure.

MR. SCHIFF: And what can you tell us about that conversation?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, I don't recall a conversation specifically. I just know that most things Emin-related Roman and I would discuss, because it usually involved one or the other. And I'm pretty sure that I would have, between the period of asking for the meeting and going to the meeting, I'm pretty sure I would have said something about, you know, I can't believe I've got to set up this meeting and go and meet these people and take them.

It would have been that. I don't know if it would have been at the detail. I know you asked me about the detail, but I may have told him what it was I had been asked to say. So we are back to that bare bones of a well-connected government attorney. But I don't recall the specifics of the conversation.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, did you ask Roman whether he knew who this woman

was or what dirt she had to offer on Clinton?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not.

██████████ That's time.

MR. CONAWAY: Mr. Schiff, 15 minutes.

MR. SCHIFF: Thank you.

And how about your conversations with Ike Kaveladze before the meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe they were logistical. They were -- I said, you know: Please make sure you're on time. I imagine they are squeezing us into a very tight schedule.

And then Ike called me on the day of the meeting to say, we're running late, which gave me an additional level of anxiety because I thought, you know, if they cancel it, there's the meeting gone.

So I was concerned about that, logistics, and that was it, really.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you ever ask Kaveladze, you know, what is this about? You work for Aras Agalarov. What's going on here?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I didn't.

MR. SCHIFF: And he never volunteered.

MR. GOLDSTONE: He did not.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you meet up with the parties somewhere prior to the meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was waiting for them on the mezzanine level of Trump Tower. There's a Starbucks there and I could see over into the lobby. So I was waiting for them to come.

As I say, they arrived maybe 7 to 10 minutes late. So as I saw them enter, I went down the escalator, met them with a perfunctory kind of hello. I believe I

was introduced to all three people. And all I cared about was getting them to security and getting them up. My concern was that the meeting would end up getting canceled if we were too late.

MR. SCHIFF: And who was it -- so you met in the lobby then?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah. I knew Ike. He was the only one I knew out of this grouping.

MR. SCHIFF: And so did you meet then in the lobby with Kaveladze, Veselnitskaya, Akhmetshin as well?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And the interpreter.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Anyone else that you met with in the lobby?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SCHIFF: And so where did you go from there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Directly to the security check-in. I gave my name. And before I could even present their ID, I believe they said: It's okay. You're on the list. We'll show you up. And we were shown up to the boardroom.

MR. SCHIFF: And when you arrived at the boardroom was anyone there already?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I think there were a couple of assistants there, one of whom said they would let Don Jr. know that we were there.

MR. SCHIFF: And then what took place thereafter?

MR. GOLDSTONE: What I call the Russian contingent, all except Ike, spent the next few minutes taking photos out of the windows of Central Park and everything they could see and saying how wonderful the view was. And then Don

arrived.

MR. SCHIFF: And if you could in narrative fashion walk us through exactly what happened to the best of your recollection.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah. He arrived and came up to me. I was obviously the only person, to the best of my knowledge, that he knew out of this grouping. So he came up: Hi, Rob. Nice to see you. I mean, I don't remember it word for word, but it was that kind of thing.

I introduced him to Ike because he was the only person I knew out of that grouping. And so I let Ike do the introductions to the other three -- very informal introductions to the other three.

Don asked us to come in, and it was then that I said: Oh, you'll remember, as per my email, I'm not staying, I'm leaving. And Don goes: Why don't you just stay so that you can take them out at the end of the meeting?

And I kind of got the impression that it was a comfort factor, that if it needed to end, do whatever, I was there to just get rid of these people at the end.

So I agreed to do it. I agreed to just sit there. And we went in.

He introduced us, I believe initially, to Paul Manafort, who was there as the campaign chairman. And then, to the best of my knowledge, Jared Kushner was either there as we arrived or within like this gentleman -- or within a few seconds of us arriving came in. And I remember that because Jared Kushner and I sat on one side of the table. The Russian contingent, including Ike, sat on the other side. And at the head of the table was Don Jr. and Paul Manafort.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. And I'm going to -- my colleague will ultimately have you draw a diagram, which we're keeping good track of the seating. But go on.

MR. GOLDSTONE: And then Don thanked everybody for coming in, I

believe he thanked me for setting up the meeting, and then invited Ms. Veselnitskaya to speak.

She began her presentation. I don't recall if it was in English or in Russian. The obvious would be to say that it was in Russian because she had her translator there. But a part of me believed that she may have been reading from something that was in English, at the beginning at least.

So I, because I wasn't supposed to be there, was checking messages on my phone. I had very little interest in any of this. And she began speaking. And it was a very labored and monotone type of presentation; not the content, but the style of it. And I heard during it some words that didn't sound unfamiliar, so Browder, Ziff, I heard those words.

And then a couple of minutes into it, I kind of looked to my side and Jared Kushner looked agitated by this and a minute or more after that, said: I need to stop you. I have no idea what you're talking about. Could you just come to a point, or is there a point to this?

And she started again. And whether it was her or through a translator, it was about how people like the Ziff Brothers were making donations to the DNC and something, and I was half listening and half not.

And this labored, monotonous thing seemed to repeat, which seemed to agitate Jared Kushner even more, just looking at his body language as he was kind of texting on his phone.

And Paul Manafort, I noticed specifically one thing, never looked up from his cell phone from the moment we began the meeting until the moment we ended, which I thought was very strange because I felt a bit rude at checking messages. But as I was watching him, that's what gave me the comfort of

carrying on.

So she continued this labored presentation, at which point Don Jr. interrupted her again and said: I kind of don't follow this at all. And she said: Well, what I really would like to talk about is the Magnitsky Act and the sanctions that are being imposed.

And so again, I'm half listening, and then suddenly I hear her talk about adoption and Russian sanctions.

MR. SCHIFF: Before we get to that, you said Don Jr. interrupted again.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah.

MR. SCHIFF: When you say interrupted again, do you mean after Kushner had interrupted?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do.

MR. SCHIFF: So that was the first interruption by Don Jr.?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. Please go on.

MR. GOLDSTONE: And then she started talking about Magnitsky. I had never heard of a Magnitsky or the act.

And so, again, I was half listening, half not. And I heard her suddenly talk about Russian sanctions and adoption and the prevention of adopting children for Americans. And I was sort of taken aback, because I felt like we were suddenly having a meeting about adoption, when I had sent an email talking about potential dirt that seemed quite sensitive at the time.

So it didn't take very long before she made this statement about maybe Don Jr. could ask his father to kind of look out for this when he became elected.

And Don said immediately: I really suggest you address your concerns to



the Obama administration. My father is a private citizen and they are in power. Thank you very much for coming, and thank you for your time.

And that's how the meeting ended. It was obvious they weren't happy. You know, they had taken time to do this. By they, I mean Don really, primarily. Jared's body language was very similar. And I was hugely embarrassed.

So the meeting ended like that. Everybody got up. They said thank you. I let the Russian contingent walk out. I hung back, and I went over to Don Jr. and I said: I have to tell you, I'm really embarrassed by this. I have no idea why we just had a meeting about adoption.

And he said, you know what? We've had lots and lots of meetings. I appreciate everything. Thank you very much, but we're hugely busy. We're going on from one to the next.

And Paul Manafort was a couple of steps in front. And as I was leaving, I thought in my mind, well, I should say something that maybe is positive. I said, oh, a friend of mine works for the Russian version of Facebook, VK, and he has this cute idea to have Mr. Trump make a video -- in English, obviously -- to appeal to Russian American voters saying, "Hey, I'm running for President. Vote for me."

Who would he talk to within the campaign? That's what he's asked me. I said, I have been give then name Dan Scavino. And Paul Manafort said, yeah, that's the right person, Dan Scavino. Sounds great. Thanks.

And Don said to me: Okay, thanks very much, Rob.

We left. We all got into an elevator. They were all going for a drink. They invited me and I said, oh, I'm sorry, I can't. I left.

And I called Emin from outside and said, I've never been as embarrassed. I hope this favor was worth it. You should use your favors with the Trumps very

sparingly and I think this was a ridiculous meeting and it was about adoption.

And he said to me: Adoption? And I said: I suggest you speak to Ike. Maybe he understood it more than I did.

And that was what happened on that day.

MR. SCHIFF: And when you said that he said he should speak to Ike, is that because you felt something might be lost in translation?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I felt that maybe Ike would understand what a Magnitsky was and what the act was, which I didn't. And I also had nothing more to say to Emin. By saying it like that, I thought I conveyed my earlier, you know, I think this is a bad idea, I think it's whatever. This was even more -- this was worse to me, which was now we have sat in on a meeting which seemed to me to be about adoption and was embarrassing at a time when they were extremely busy. That was the message I was trying to get across to him.

MR. SCHIFF: And you didn't know that the ban on adoptions was a result of the imposition of the sanctions in the Magnitsky Act?

MR. GOLDSTONE: At the time I did not know.

MR. SCHIFF: During the meeting -- and how long is your best estimate that the meeting went on?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Maybe 20 minutes.

MR. SCHIFF: And you mentioned that Jared Kushner first interjected, essentially, along the lines of, you know, where is this going?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: I don't really understand what you're talking about.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Did he -- and you mentioned that he became increasingly

agitated. Did he interject again and say anything again to your knowledge?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe he did, no.

MR. SCHIFF: And did he stay for the whole meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe he did.

MR. SCHIFF: Don Jr., he interjected as the second interruption. Did he interject again after that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Interject only when he commented on how she should address her concerns to the Obama administration. That was his interjection. And he seemed to use it as a way to close the meeting.

MR. SCHIFF: And about how far into the meeting did the conversation segue from -- and I realize you're on your phone or BlackBerry -- segue from being about the Ziff Brothers and funding for Hillary or the DNC, how long of the meeting was that the topic, and then how long was it before it segued into Magnitsky?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I would say probably 5 to 7 minutes was about the first topic, then the interjection, then another minute or so of her trying to reexplain this or redirect this.

And then Don's interjection is probably 10 minutes in, and then the other 10, maybe 12 minutes -- no, 10. The whole thing was wrapped, maybe even less than 20 minutes, but 20 minutes would be the max.

So half and half, but the first half had two interjections in it.

MR. SCHIFF: And this material that she was reading from -- or it appeared that she was reading some of her presentation?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Did she leave any of that behind? Was there a folder with documents in it to your knowledge?

MR. GOLDSTONE: To my knowledge, there was nothing left on the table at the end.

MR. SCHIFF: All right.

██████████ One minute, sir.

MR. SCHIFF: I'm happy to have to yield back as it will take me a minute to get this anyway.

MR. CONAWAY: Mr. Schiff, 15 minutes.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Could I ask for just a quick restroom break?

MR. SCHIFF: Of course. Any time you need.

[Recess.]

MR. CONAWAY: Mr. Schiff, you have 15 minutes.

MR. SCHIFF: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Turning to Bates stamp page 75. This is an email from you to Donald Trump Jr. regarding Donald Trump on VK, Russian Facebook. And in it you say: "I will bring a printout of this blow tomorrow." Was there a meeting scheduled between you and Don Jr. for June 9?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, yes, that was the Trump Tower meeting.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. And did you bring a copy of this -- so that was the same meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, it was the same meeting, like, I will bring something when I come to the meeting, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you, in fact, bring this document, this Facebook page mockup with you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe I did not.

MR. SCHIFF: You did not?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe I did not.

MR. SCHIFF: And why was that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm not sure if I forgot or if I -- I don't know the reason for that. I probably forgot. But I believe I didn't bring it with me.

MR. SCHIFF: And so the only mention you made of this was the passing mention to Mr. Manafort at the end of the meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: On that occasion, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you speak to Mr. Manafort on another occasion about it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SCHIFF: Because he put you in touch or suggested Mr. Scavino was a better contact?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: The following day, June 10, there's an email from Rhona Graff. This is Bates stamp 82.

MR. GOLDSTONE: One second. Eighty-two, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: You email at the bottom of the page Rhona Graff regarding a birthday gift for Mr. Trump, a fairly sizeable birthday gift. Is that a painting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: So this would have been the day after the Trump Tower meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And at what point did you know you would be delivering a birthday gift to Mr. Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I ultimately ended up not delivering it because I was

going to be away. I believe Roman Beniaminov delivered it.

But I've been told, either that day or maybe the day before, that Emin was sending the painting across with his assistant who was flying into the States. They were so big, these things, that they thought the easiest way to bring -- I don't know if they brought one or two, it was part of a trilogy -- these paintings to New York would be to have his assistant bring it. And they wanted to find out how they could get it to Mr. Trump for his birthday.

MR. SCHIFF: And when did you find out that they had this present to present to him?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Again, I'm not sure, but as I emailed Rhona, usually when I am told things like that, I send the emails or text fairly soon. So I would imagine maybe on June 10.

MR. SCHIFF: So going into the meeting at Trump Tower, you didn't know that they also had a birthday present for him?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe not.

MR. SCHIFF: And they immediately after the Trump Tower meeting, Mr. Agalarov sent Mr. Trump a painting large enough he needed to send a plane to take it over?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not a plane. Like a commercial. It was a commercial flight that Emin's assistant took. I believe it was because of the size of these two or three paintings that it was felt that the most economic and safest way to do it -- plus, as I understand, having met her when she arrived, his assistant hadn't been to New York in a very long time. It may have been 10 years, Emin's assistant.

So the whole thing was put together as she could bring it. It would come

as excess baggage and at least it would get there.

MR. SCHIFF: Had, to your knowledge, Mr. Agalarov ever given Mr. Trump a gift of that size before? I don't mean just physical size, but value.

MR. GOLDSTONE: To my knowledge, no.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know whether the gift that was being flown over was a, essentially, as much a thank you for the meeting as it was a birthday present?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I understand it to have been a birthday gift.

MR. SCHIFF: And yet, are you aware of any other birthday gift Mr. Agalarov had given of that nature in the past?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Of that nature? No.

MR. SCHIFF: On June 14, Bates stamp 85, Ike Kaveladze sends you sent an email -- actually, I'm sorry, you sent Ike an email -- that appends a lawyer about a hack at the DNC that was believed to be done by the Russians.

And you say, "Top story right now. Seems eerily weird based on our Trump Tower meeting last week with the Russian lawyers, et cetera."

Was it eerily weird because this involved the Russians hacking the Democratic Party and potentially obtaining damaging information on Hillary?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was eerily weird because I was watching this, I was in Canada at the time, I was watching this on CNN, and suddenly a thing flashes up: Russia DNC. And I just thought, forgetting even the hacking of emails, just Russia DNC. And what I'm saying here is, isn't this eerily weird? Didn't I just allegedly organize or sit in on some meeting about that?

That's what I was referring to when it was eerily weird, is that suddenly out of the blue, not long after our nothing meeting which was supposed to be about Russia and the DNC, here's a top story on CNN.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, I don't know whether it was in this story or -- because it was around precisely the same time, days after your Trump Tower meeting. WikiLeaks announced they had obtained stolen emails.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Right.

MR. SCHIFF: Were you aware of that at the time that became public as well?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was not.

MR. SCHIFF: But this break-in of the DNC seems strange because it involved Russians and it involved the DNC right after you had had a meeting on that very subject?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you ever discuss that with Mr. Kaveladze before the news of the meeting broke? That is, the strange coincidence between what the meeting was and what would later happen that week?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Just so I'm clear, you're talking about what happened based on my seeing this on TV?

MR. SCHIFF: Yes. In other words, did you have a conversation with Mr. Kaveladze along the nature of your email exchange on June 14 in which you discussed the strange coincidence of the meeting at Trump Tower and the Russians being involved in hacking the DNC?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not.

MR. SCHIFF: Did this, the article that came out, did it make you wonder whether the information they were offering had come from the DNC server?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe what this is, is a photo I may have taken off the TV of a headline on CNN. It's not that it made me think of anything. It's just I



found it bizarre, is a better word than "eerily weird," that I just allegedly sat in on a meeting, and more importantly, organized a meeting, that I was told would involve Russia and the DNC. This was my only thought process, is how bizarre.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, I take it that Ms. Veselnitskaya never told you what her well-connected connections were?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SCHIFF: And no one else at the meeting did either?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SCHIFF: And you would not be in a position to know, would you, whether after the meeting she communicated back to her connections a dissatisfaction with the Trump campaign over what she provided?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have no idea. You are correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And you wouldn't know whether she also -- she would have communicated that the -- apropos of the email that you received from Don Jr. -- that they would love to get damaging information on Clinton?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I, you know, I never heard from her before or after apart from that one email about bringing someone. So, no, I have no idea.

MR. SCHIFF: Did Emin ever tell you about his conversations with his father on this subject?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He did not.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, it seems like through the course of this year, 2016, that you became somewhat of an emissary between the Agalarovs and the Trumps. Is that fair to say?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It is fair to say.

MR. SCHIFF: So when they wanted to get messages or greetings or gifts

to the Trumps, you were the conduit?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was.

MR. SCHIFF: On Bates stamp number 90, it's an email from Alan Garten [REDACTED] the subject is "Call." And it is to you. "Hey, Rob, hope all is well. I was wondering if you were free to talk tomorrow. Let me know what works best for you, Alan."

Is this the email setting up the conversation you mentioned earlier where you were first made aware that the -- that your name had been mentioned in connection with the Trump Tower meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not that my name had been mentioned, but he said at the time that there were leaks everywhere and somebody had leaked the email that the meeting took place and my email requesting it. At the time, they actually said to me that it didn't appear that my name had been leaked.

MR. SCHIFF: And what did Mr. Garten ask you to do or advise you to do?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He didn't advise me to do anything. But he asked me if I would have a conversation with his colleague Mr. Futerfas at some point?

MR. SCHIFF: And did you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And how long after the June 26 email with Mr. Garten did you have the conversation with Mr. Futerfas?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm not sure, except that I left for my gap year around the 30th of June. So as far as I recall, it was before that.

MR. SCHIFF: So June 26 you get the call from -- or the email from Alan Garten. Did you speak with him the same day?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm not sure, but I did speak with him.

MR. SCHIFF: And then within days, you spoke with Mr. --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Futerfas.

MR. SCHIFF: Futerfas. And then you left almost immediately thereafter on your sabbatical.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Was your sabbatical related to the fact that this story had become public? Was that part of the motivation, was to essentially get out of Dodge?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I had been planning this for a good part of a year, and as part of it had made my resignation plans clear to Emin in the October of -- I don't know what year now, 2016. So it had been planned well before this.

MR. SCHIFF: So you told Emin in October that you were going to be leaving?

MR. GOLDSTONE: October of 2016 I told him that I would leave at the end of the year and I would give him 2 months notice, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Then 6 months go by between December and June, and it's only days after this conversation that you decide to pull the trigger, or had you already purchased your tickets and that was already --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: -- in the works before you left?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I had one client event which I had to do, which was the end of May in New York City. And then I had rented out my apartment from June 30. And so those were always the plans. Nothing changed.

MR. SCHIFF: And when did you sign the sublease on the New York apartment?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe April of -- this year, 2017.

[4:35 p.m.]

MR. SCHIFF: And what did -- I can't pronounce his name -- Futerfas.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Futerfas.

MR. SCHIFF: Say that again. Sorry.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Futerfas.

MR. SCHIFF: What did Mr. Futerfas ask you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He asked me if I could let them have the best recollection that I had of the meeting and what took place at the meeting.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you describe it to him as you described it to us?

MR. GOLDSTONE: To the best of my knowledge, yes.

██████████ One minute.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you discuss the email chain that led up to the meeting with him?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe we talked about the initial email.

MR. SCHIFF: And what did he have to say about the initial email?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That he believed that that was leaked also. And I -- I don't recall in detail him asking very much about that at all. I do recall him focusing on me just recalling details of the meeting. But I do believe that, in the course of that, he said he believed that the initial email that led to that had also been leaked.

MR. SCHIFF: Did he ask you about particular language in that email?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He did not.

██████████ Time.

MR. CONAWAY: Mr. Goldstone, to the best of your recollection, that June

9th meeting, during the conversation of the Russian lawyer and her monotone conversation about the Ziff family, some sort of tax fraud, some sort of contributions, any hint of a conversation, anything about emails, hacking, cyber, espionage, anything that's -- remotely could be tied back to what was disclosed in the 14th that because you've used the word "eerily," whatever?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No. I don't recall anything like that.

MR. CONAWAY: So, again, just to restate for you the -- your reaction, the bizarre reaction was just the DNC Russia but no specifics with respect to that.

MR. GOLDSTONE: That is correct.

MR. CONAWAY: Thank you. I yield back. 15 minutes.

MR. SCHIFF: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

On June 27th, the day after the initial email, Bates stamp 91, initial email with Mr. Garten, there's another email from Mr. Garten to you. It just says, "Thank you." And it's responding to an email from you earlier that afternoon saying: Hi, Alan, here's the contact information for Ike Kaveladze who also attended the meeting on behalf of Aras Agalarov.

Did he ask you for contact information for other attendees?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe he asked me if I knew the name of the Russian attorney, which at the time I don't think I actually did. And he asked me if I knew the name of the representative who represented the Agalarovs, which I did know, and so that's what I sent.

MR. SCHIFF: Anything further you can tell us about the conversation with Mr. Futerfas?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, it was very much a one-way conversation. He merely said, could you, to the best of your recollection, tell us what you believe

happened in that meeting? And I did. It wasn't a particularly long conversation, and he didn't follow up with anything. He just said, "Thank you very much."

MR. SCHIFF: That same day, June 27th, you email, Bates stamp 92, Emin, saying: That meeting I set up in October with Trump campaign for your father for that Russian attorney and her colleagues is causing massive problems.

Was there a meeting in October as well?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It's -- I believe it's an error. It's June.

MR. SCHIFF: So you were referring to the same meeting at Trump Tower?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was.

MR. SCHIFF: You go on to say: I have today been interviewed by attorneys for the second time about it.

So does that mean two interviews by Futerfas, or did Garten interview you about it as well now?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm referring to the initial call for Garten and the more lengthy interview by Futerfas.

MR. SCHIFF: The concern, you say, because it links Don Jr. to officials from Russia, which he always denied meeting.

Explain what you meant by that.

MR. GOLDSTONE: By then, I'd started to look online and see what any of this drama was about. And what I'm saying there is that it links him Russians, Russian officials, meaning the press was full of Don having apparently said he never met anyone from Russia. I'm saying here: Well, here, this links him to people from Russia.

I don't mean officials as in officials the way it sounds, but that's what I'm

talking about.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, Don Jr. hadn't denied meeting Russians in connection with the pageant, had he?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Don Jr. I don't believe had anything to do with the pageant.

MR. SCHIFF: He hadn't denied meeting Russians as a general matter in his lifetime.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have no idea what he denied. But Googling it, that's what I was seeing and on the media that he apparently had said he'd never met with any of these, forms he had to fill in or security or whatever it was that he'd been doing.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, Mr. Goldstone, you're writing this email, and you're quite upset, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, I am.

MR. SCHIFF: And you refer to the links between Don Jr. and officials from Russia. Now you were led to believe that this was a government attorney who was well connected. So your describing it as officials from Russia would be accurate, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Based on what I assumed they were, yes -- or assumed she was. At the time, I had no idea she was bringing other people with her.

MR. SCHIFF: And you were aware that Don Jr. had been essentially denying connections to the Russian Government, not just Russians as an ethnicity.

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, not as an ethnicity, no.



MR. SCHIFF: And you go on to say: I did say at the time it was an awful idea and a terrible meeting.

Here you're reiterating that, when you were asked to set it up, you'd said it was a bad idea, and after it was over, you said it was a terrible meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did.

MR. SCHIFF: "They are speaking with Ike, I believe, also today, and potentially it may go further, and we may need attorneys."

What did you mean by "it may go further"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: This story could develop and that we could be in some way seriously connected with it, as I am currently.

MR. SCHIFF: "It is a really potentially serious situation so you and your father should be aware."

Why did you think it was such a serious situation?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, because I knew the situation that, you know, I was potentially up against. It was my email, and I had sat in on that meeting. So I just thought, you know, Emin and his father were sitting in Moscow, and they should be aware of the fact that it was potentially serious. I wanted to draw his attention that this wasn't something that's just -- not laugh off but just dismiss, that it was potentially very serious.

MR. SCHIFF: And it could have implications for both Emin and Aras Agalarov.

MR. GOLDSTONE: And me.

MR. SCHIFF: And you.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: But when you say "you and your father should be aware,"

you were concerned in terms of what repercussions it might have for them?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And is it true also that you were concerned about what repercussions it may have for them vis-à-vis the Russian Government?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SCHIFF: And what concerns did you have then for them?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That they could be drawn into this -- not story, because I don't want to make it sound like it's not important, but drawn into this situation. And I just wanted to underline the seriousness of it by saying that they could be drawn into it as well.

MR. SCHIFF: You then go on to say: I don't even know for sure who these Russian people were.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. SCHIFF: Was that accurate?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, I didn't really know who Rinat whatever his name was, and I assumed the other person was a translator, but I have no idea who it was.

MR. SCHIFF: It could have been Russian intel for all you knew.

MR. GOLDSTONE: As I say, I was told it was a translator, but I was saying to Emin I have no idea who they were.

MR. SCHIFF: And you didn't really know who this Russian well-connected lawyer was either, did you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That is correct.

MR. SCHIFF: Mr. Goldstone, skip over because they are a bit out of chronological order after this. It jumps back to 2016. If you could turn to Bates

stamp 104, it's an email from Daria Petrova, and she was the PR person for Crocus.

MR. GOLDSTONE: The PR person for Aras Agalarov.

MR. SCHIFF: She writes to you: Hi, Rob, I need your advice. I have two requests from CNN and The Guardian. They want to speak about Trump. Same situation like with Washington Post and ABC. What do you think? I guess they'll be no good for Trump and for image of Crocus Group as well. For sure they will characterize their business like a result of friendship with Putin and will focus on political issues that we would prefer not to touch. What's your opinion?

Do you know what she meant by "they will characterize their business like the result of the friendship with Putin and focus on the political issues that we would prefer not to touch"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe at the time she was referring to the fact that some previous reporting, especially on Politico I remember was one, actually referred to the Agalarovs as Putin's builders. And she told me that Mr. Agalarov, you know, has always sort of prided himself on being independence of the business and their entrepreneurial spirit and that it really angered him that they tied him in as simply Putin's builders because that wasn't true.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, he had, though, bragged to The Washington Post a short time earlier that they were the largest construction company in modern Russia and had done all these projects of great importance to Putin, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That is correct.

MR. SCHIFF: Did Petrova and Aras conclude at this point then that they are to downplay that connection?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, both myself and [REDACTED], as my director of

publicity, had said on a number of occasions that these people who make these assumptions are in fact using your own words and that when you speak to Forbes or The Washington Post and you say that's what you are, then obviously those words will be used by other media to say that's what you are. So one of the things we tried to do was to get them to have a general consensus: Either you are doing media and you will talk about your relationship with Mr. Trump and to some extent your relationship with Mr. Putin and the government, or you won't. And they decided that they wouldn't.

MR. SCHIFF: Document 121, an email from Paula Shughart to you. It attaches a couple stories, the second of which is "Soviet Pop Megastar Prays for Gentleman Trump to Win." And Shughart writes: See second story. He was also on BBC this morning. I won't tell him what DJT was saying during Miss Universe. How nice that Donald thought to ask him to judge.

What is she referring to there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The pop megastar they are referring to is a gentleman by the name of Philip Kirkorov he's the biggest entertainment singer in Russia. And he was invited to be one of the VIP judges. He has a somewhat bizarre look, and what she's referring to is obviously that Mr. Trump also must have said something perhaps not so complimentary about that said look, but she's not referring to Emin there. She's referred to Philip Kirkorov. I think on page 123 it answers that.

MR. SCHIFF: Yes, it does. For that gentleman's privacy, I won't ask you to comment further on that.

Bates stamp 135, on the bottom of the page is an email from you, dated October 7th, 2016, subject "letter from Mr. Agalarov," where you write to Rhona

Graff: Good morning. I hope you're well. I received a letter and book from Aras Agalarov for Mr. Trump, which he would like me to deliver to you today, if possible ahead of Sunday's debate. What is the best way to drop it off today? Is this again your acting as sort of the emissary for the Agalarovs?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It is indeed.

MR. SCHIFF: Turning your attention to Bates stamp 163.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm sorry. Did you say 153 or 163?

MR. SCHIFF: 163.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah.

MR. SCHIFF: About midway through the page, it says an email from you to [REDACTED], copying Emin, [REDACTED] and others, regarding Trump music video: Okay. It's deleted and probably Emin should therefore delete all his Trump-related social media postings based on this recommendation.

What video was being deleted, and why was there a recommendation to delete all the social media postings?

MR. GOLDSTONE: [REDACTED] who, I think as I mentioned, took over for me as Emin's music manager, had hired a company named WMA out of London and New York to handle social media for Emin. One of their recommendations was that the video "In Another Life," in which I had asked Mr. Trump if he would appear in the music video and he did, should be deleted because they feared that linking Emin with Mr. Trump would have a negative effect, especially in England where they were doing a big campaign and where Mr. Trump wasn't viewed terribly favorably. So I'm saying here that I've now deleted it. I've suggested Emin delete that video. And in a kind of -- it was against my suggestion. My suggestion was that if he already had all of this, he should exploit his relationship

with Mr. Trump. The other people's view was that they should delete it. So my answer was: Fine, well, in which case he should then delete -- if we are deleting the video, surely he should then delete all his social media postings with Mr. Trump, if that's what this company is saying. And I go and say: I have no idea who this company is, but if that's what you want us to, that's what we should do.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know whether they did go and retroactively delete prior social media postings of Emin with Mr. Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe they did not because I notice that many are still there.

MR. SCHIFF: Turn your attention to Bates stamp 178.

██████████ 1 minute.

MR. SCHIFF: This is an email from ██████████ subject matter "congratulations," dated November 13, 2016, to you: Referring to my private client as a Trumpest, I could introduce you as worth \$500 million. I have extensive networks, et cetera.

Who is he referring to there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm not sure. ██████████ is an old journalistic colleague of mine that works for a PR company called Freud's (ph) in London, run by Matthew Freud (ph). And it was him talking about this private client that he had. I have no idea who it was. We never met. We never followed --

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know whether he had any Russian oligarch clients?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe he was a -- he may have had a Ukrainian oligarch client, and he was also a consultant to the Ukrainian national broadcaster on national TV.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know who the Ukrainian client was?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do not.

MR. SCHIFF: And I'd asked you earlier if you knew Mr. Deripaska.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I think you did. I don't.

██████████ That's time.

Back to Mr. Schiff

MR. SCHIFF: If I could direct your attention to Bates stamp 182, it's an email from Ike Kaveladze, the subject "synopsis," dated November 23rd, 2016. It says: Hello, Rob. Please find synopsis of the topic Ms. Natalia wants to discuss with T people. She just arrived into New York City. Thanks, Ike.

Does "Miss Natalia" refer to Natalia Veselnitskaya?

MR. GOLDSTONE: To the best of my knowledge, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And the "T people" are the Trump people?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, I believe they were.

MR. SCHIFF: So this is, after the election, Ms. Veselnitskaya is seeking another meeting with the Trump people?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It appeared so, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And what was your role in the establishment of this other meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was asked if I could try and get a meeting for her with a member of perhaps the transition team.

MR. SCHIFF: And who asked you to seek that meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Ike Kaveladze.

MR. SCHIFF: On behalf of Aras again?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know, but usually that is who he spoke on

behalf of.

MR. SCHIFF: He wouldn't be doing it for himself.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have no idea.

MR. SCHIFF: At the end of the meeting in Trump Tower, when Don Jr. said, "You need to take that up with the Obama administration, we're private citizens," did Don Jr. also make comments to the effect of, "If we're successful, come see us after the election"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He did not.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, can you be certain of that? If other people at the meeting had a different recollection, would they be wrong.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe they would be wrong.

MR. SCHIFF: In any event, Ms. Veselnitskaya did seek a subsequent meeting after the election.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And this email suggests -- the email Bates stamp 182 -- suggests you had some prior communication with Mr. Kaveladze on the subject of the meeting because he says, "Please find synopsis of the topic, and indicates she had already arrived in New York. What can you tell us about what you knew before you got this email?"

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe I had -- especially based on -- I just took a quick look at what my response was. I don't believe I had had any discussion with him prior to that.

MR. SCHIFF: And what -- your response is --

MR. GOLDSTONE: 186.

MR. SCHIFF: 186. Before I get to that, the attachment is Bates stamp



183, -4, and -5.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And you say, "Got it." This is November 23rd, so it would be the same day -- although I think we are looking at this out of chronological order.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know this, but sometimes if Mr. Kaveladze is in Moscow and I'm in New York, it times it inconsistently.

MR. SCHIFF: I see. So it looks like your response to the sending of the synopsis is, "Got it," have skimmed over it. Isn't this exactly what she presented at the last meeting? And this is a combination of some stuff about the Ziff brothers, the Magnitsky Act, and Mr. Browder, although not particularly about adoptions, correct.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. I mean, I haven't studied it closely even now or then in fact.

MR. SCHIFF: But I don't see -- and I'm just skimming around -- reference to adoptions, but what you meant by that is the stuff about the Magnitsky Act and the Ziff brothers was all very much a repeat of the initial meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: So it appeared.

MR. SCHIFF: Does this give you any indication of whether they were invited to follow up after the election?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SCHIFF: And Mr. Kaveladze responds: Yes, pretty close to what she talked about at the first meeting. I'm still trying to understand. Is your testimony that you just got this synopsis out of the blue and you're told that she has arrived in New York City, but there was no lead up to this?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe so, and I don't recall so.

MR. SCHIFF: Wouldn't you have replied, "Why are you sending me this, what meeting are you referring to, I don't know anything about her going to New York"?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No. I would have just said, what is it -- we haven't even gotten to that stage yet. I was first shocked that they would even suggest another meeting based on the meeting we'd already had.

MR. SCHIFF: So Kaveladze is setting up this second meeting after the disastrous first meeting, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And as far as you understand the relationship between Ike and Aras Agalarov, Ike works for Aras Agalarov.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And does this indicate to you that Mr. Agalarov was willing to once again use his relationship with Mr. Trump to set up another meeting with Ms. Veselnitskaya, it was of that importance?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I mean, I can only go by what it says. And in this particular instance, Mr. Kaveladze doesn't reference Mr. Agalarov.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, you weren't aware of anybody else that Mr. Kaveladze works for?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm not, no.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you have any conversations with Mr. Kaveladze about why Mr. Agalarov would want to set up another meeting, what was behind this, or who was behind this?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe that what I did was try to side step the issue

of having to request it, if possible.

MR. SCHIFF: And how did you do that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, initially, I talk about it being Thanksgiving. So hopefully that puts them off for a while. Then Mr. Kaveladze said she will stay on until December 2nd. And then I say: You know, I have to submit this and see if they want to even have the meeting. I'm not sure how long that will be, and if they'll agree, we'll keep you posted.

It's at that point also that I mentioned to Ike, because I realized I hadn't told him that I would be leaving, and so can't help in the Trump world after that.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you end up submitting to Don and Rhona?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe I submitted it to Rhona.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you also speak to either Don or Rhona?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe I did, no?

MR. SCHIFF: And did you email this synopsis to Rhona?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I know I -- I believe I requested the meeting. Whether or not I sent the synopsis, I'm not sure. I would probably have said that because of my skepticism of even asking for it, I probably requested the meeting first to see if there was any response, and then I would have submitted the synopsis.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, we will continue going through the documents. I don't recall seeing any correspondence between you and Rhona on this. Maybe there is. Do you recall whether you emailed back and forth on this?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I thought there was at least one submission?

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. Let -- maybe we will get to it.

MR. GOLDSTONE: It might be out of order.

MR. SCHIFF: Let me turn to the text messages that begin on page 191.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh.

MR. SCHIFF: It is a little bit difficult to follow precisely, but if I could direct your attention to page 196. It was a text message that says: Hello, Rob, any news regarding the meeting? Mr. A just called me re: this.

Who is that from? What is the date of that? And what does that refer to?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The date according to this is November -- I don't know if that's the 20 or --

MR. SCHIFF: 28th.

MR. GOLDSTONE: 28th, okay. It's from --

MR. SCHIFF: Of 2016.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. It's an email exchange between myself and Ike Kaveladze. I'm sorry. It is a text exchange.

MR. SCHIFF: And I am trying to see, how do we know this is from -- are these all, up until this point, text messages between you and Mr. Kaveladze or --

MR. GOLDSTONE: It sort of says it at the side there, Ike.

MR. SCHIFF: Yes. I see. So is this text message a follow up of the email where he had asked you to set up the meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe so, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And you respond: None so far.

And then you say: This might need Amy to reach out directly to Trump as I'm getting no response this time around on this.

And then Mr. Kaveladze responds: Can we arrange meeting at low level like with Secretary? I don't think Emin will call T for that.

And you say: I have just asked again if there is someone at low level that

can meet. Let's see if I get a response. I know you understand that it is a very different request now that he is President-elect, and so his team are all in transition.

So does that refresh your recollection about whether you had interactions with Rhona or somebody else or --

MR. GOLDSTONE: In this particular instance, I did nothing, despite what I said there. But I had made one request to Rhona about a followup meeting.

MR. SCHIFF: I have -- and this is, I guess, from Ike: I've updated her -- meaning Veselnitskaya -- on the situation and suggest that unless we hear something by T people tomorrow afternoon, she should forget about this and go back to Moscow.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And do you know, did she go all the way to New York for this meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know.

MR. SCHIFF: You say: I left Rhona another message, but heard nothing. I don't think we will.

Are you saying that you didn't in fact leave another message or --

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm saying the reason I don't think we will is because I didn't ask in the first place.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. Your attention to Bates stamp 219 in which, at the bottom of the page, [REDACTED] writes to Emin: Hi, Emin, I am not sure you have seen this new one, which talks about you extensively, but not in a bad way.

These are in March of 2017, and it sends a Forbes article.

You write then it appears -- or Emin writes -- what's exact translation of

boasts? That's from Emin.

And you reply: Boasts is someone who speaks proudly of excessive achievements or abilities.

And then [REDACTED] writes: English version uses striking claims, much nicer than boasts. Among Agalarov's most striking claims that he and his billionaire developer father, Aras, had plans to build a Trump Tower in Russia that would now likely be under construction had Trump not run for office.

Do you know what the basis of that statement is that -- had he not been elected, that the Trump Tower would already be built?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't. It was never my understanding that that was the reason why it didn't go ahead.

MR. SCHIFF: If you could turn to Bates stump 227.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: That's a -- text messages to Ike Kaveladze from you. Is that's what's on that page?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: On June 3rd, 2017: Hello, it's Rob Goldstone. When you get a minute, please call -- can you please call me? I just had an interesting call re: that meeting we attended at Trump Tower last year. Natalia Veselnitskaya, I believe that was her name. Thanks.

So that was a message from you to Ike. And then on the following page is a message from Emin to you.

MR. GOLDSTONE: No. So the first part of 227 --

MR. SCHIFF: Yes.

MR. GOLDSTONE: -- the first three paragraphs I believe are emails from

me to Ike. The second two, "Natalia Veselnitskaya, I believe that was her name," I believe are Ike. Back to me?

MR. SCHIFF: I see. And then you respond: Thanks.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah.

MR. SCHIFF: Is Emin in the same chat? Is that why he appears here?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, it's not. These are separate. They are not dated, but they are separate. They are not dated, but they are separate. This, I believe, is from July 9th, when the story was broken to me by The Washington Post.

██████████ One minute.

MR. SCHIFF: So the other ones were June 3rd, and then we jump to July 9th?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And the interesting call you're referring to on June 3rd is from the lawyer or lawyers?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe it is from Alan Garten or Futerfas.

Well, it's from -- not that call that we've discussed. It is from when I first got the first message from Alan Garten saying, "Can you please call me?"

MR. SCHIFF: And then Bates 228 was -- what was the date that to the best of your knowledge?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe it was July 9th.

MR. SCHIFF: July 9th.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And how were you able to date these messages?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Because it talks about the story and the words

"acquaintance" and all of that, "the media is keen to know who set up the meeting," well, the media didn't know anything about me until July 9th. And this is what I would have sent him the minute that story broke -- not the minute, but within minutes of it.

██████████ That's time. Yield back.

MR. SCHIFF: Thank you.

On July 9th, you text message Emin. I made sure I kept you and your father out of the story, and they just used my word "acquaintance." The lawyers accepted we were just acquaintances.

Why did you use "acquaintance" and not use their names?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I didn't want to -- I was kind of protecting my client and by default clients, although Aras was not my client; Emin was. So, at the time when I was asked by The Washington Post and then later by The New York Times, by the Associated Press, you know, who was the person that asked you to do this, I just didn't want to give up their name if I didn't have to.

MR. SCHIFF: And the lawyer -- and you said: The lawyers accepted we were just acquaintances.

Does that mean that, in your conversation with Mr. Feturfas and Mr. Garten, that you agreed that you would use the term "acquaintances" to describe your relationship with the Agalarovs?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe that this may be a misuse of a word or a mistype or a miss -- I believe this should say "the media accepted we were just acquaintances," because then all of this I am talking about journalists having called me in the media. So I can't give any other explanation. It has nothing to do with Mr. Garten or Feturfas in this particular instance, but I believe it was that



the media accepted that we were acquaintances.

MR. SCHIFF: That has a completely different meaning from the one you stated.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I understand. And I don't know, to be honest. I really don't know, but I don't believe it refers to the only lawyers that I had spoken to at that point, were Mr. Garten and Mr. Feturfas.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, in your conversation with Mr. Garten or Mr. Feturfas, did you discuss keeping the Agalarov name out of any discussions you had with the press?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not.

MR. SCHIFF: Did they talk to you about talking to the press?

MR. GOLDSTONE: By this stage, they had not, no.

MR. SCHIFF: And at some later point, they did.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not talking to the press, but at some later point, I believe we actually submit -- they give a suggestion for a statement that I could possibly give to the press, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: So it's your testimony, Mr. Goldstone, that when you said, "The lawyers accepted we were just acquaintances," that you were referring not to the lawyers but to the press?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That's what I believe I meant by this. And my logic tells me that, in reading this and knowing how I write, that I'm referring throughout this to media.

MR. SCHIFF: And yet you wrote this after you have been talking to the lawyers.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And Emin responds: Awesome. So he wouldn't know that you were referring, when you talked about the lawyers, to anything but the lawyers, would he?

MR. GOLDSTONE: [Nonverbal response.]

MR. SCHIFF: "But tell me the media is keen to know who set up the meeting."

What do you mean by that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That the journalists who I'd spoken to tell me the media is keen to know who set up the meeting, meaning who wanted the meeting. They knew I physically set it up, but on whose request.

MR. SCHIFF: It looks like these are all timed during the same minute, 13:48.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah.

MR. SCHIFF: So you write: The lawyers accept that we were just acquaintances but tell me the media is keen to know who set up the meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah. So what I would be saying here is, you know, the media or journalists have accepted we were acquaintances.

He goes: Awesome.

And I go: But they tell me that the media is also keen to know who set up the meeting.

It is written badly. It was.

MR. SCHIFF: Mr. Goldstone, it appears that you're referring to the lawyers: The lawyers accepted we were just acquaintances but tell me the media is keen to know who set up the meeting.

Isn't that the plain reading of what you wrote?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It is the plain reading of what I wrote. It is not what I believe I meant or meant to say.

MR. SCHIFF: You then go on to tell Emin, if contacted, I can do a dance and keep you out of it. Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, by media.

MR. SCHIFF: And what is the date, if you can tell me, of the text messages on Bates stamp 230?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The --

MR. SCHIFF: -- the same day.

MR. GOLDSTONE: The same day.

MR. SCHIFF: In which you say: Journalists have been calling nonstop. I have said it was a personal meeting request from me to Don.

So you're suggesting there that you were going to represent and had represented to the media that this was a personal request from you and had nothing to do with the Agalarovs. Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, at that point.

MR. SCHIFF: So you were telling Emin that you had essentially lied to the press?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And he wrote back saying, "Let's see if that holds," correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: And you report back to him, "Also Washington Post said FBI now investigating why this meeting was asked and if Duma was involved. I hope this favor was worth it -- worth for your dad," meaning I take it, Mr. Goldstone, that whatever purpose Aras Agalarov had or whoever asked him to set this up, you

hoped that it would be that important to be worth all this.

MR. GOLDSTONE: That is what I meant, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: You then, on Bates stamp 231, continue writing Emin.

Would this be the following day?

MR. GOLDSTONE: This would be the following day, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: "Just got off phone with Trump lawyers." Now, when you refer to Trump lawyers there, I assume you're not referring to media?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm not, no.

MR. SCHIFF: "And they would like us to have a blanket no comment for now." Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SCHIFF: Does that indicate to you that initially they wanted you to represent this as acquaintances and now they just wanted no comment?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It doesn't to me, but I understand how it could.

MR. SCHIFF: And then Bates stamp 232: Can you call me?

You're writing to go Emin: When you are free, we have to put some statement -- some statement out. It's getting insane now. There are dozens of articles about my involvement. Trump's lawyers drafted a small statement they would like me to put out. I emailed it back to you.

Did you produce that email for the committee?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe so.

MR. SCHIFF: And can you identify what Bates stamp that is?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, I'm just looking. We may not have provided it.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, you -- why would that not have been provided? This was a statement that you emailed to Emin concerning what the Trump lawyers

wanted you to say.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I know that I did a thorough search using all the words and keywords and names to produce whatever we could find. But it doesn't appear to be, looking at this, but it's one of our submissions.

MR. SCHIFF: Will you and counsel go back through your records for all the emails from this period and provide that to the committee?

MR. GOLDSTONE: We will, indeed.

MR. SCHIFF: And I take it, Mr. Goldstone, you haven't deleted any emails relevant to the investigation.

MR. GOLDSTONE: That is correct.

MR. GAGE: Let's take a minute if we could.

MR. SCHIFF: Sure.

[Discussion off the record.]

[Recess.]

MR. SCHIFF: I yield back.

██████████ I recognize Mr. Schiff for another 15 minutes.

MR. SCHIFF: Just to follow up on the email that you referred to in the text message to Emin, would you go back through your records to see if you can locate this or any other emails that are responsive to our requests?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Of course.

MR. SCHIFF: On that same page, it looks like there is an audio file. Would that be an audio message from Emin interspersed with the text messages?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It is.

MR. SCHIFF: And do you recall what was said on that audio or why he would use an audio message there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Sometimes he does get bored with typing and would do a voice message. And, again, I'm not sure we have -- I believe we may have submitted it to --

MR. SCHIFF: I don't know how long those voice messages are retained by your carrier, so I don't know whether -- we do have voice messages that you produced. But to the best of your recollection, do you recall what he would have said in that message, in case that's not one of the ones we have?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I -- I believe it is one of the ones you have.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay.

MR. GOLDSTONE: And I don't recall exactly, but it relates to the idea of a statement, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. On Bates stamp 233, you write: Okay. So read all the online stories on me. You guys are clean so far.

Does that mean that their names have been kept out of it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That does mean that, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: You say: I have 20 years of reputation basically destroyed by this dumb meeting, which your father insisted on, even though Ike and me told him would be bad news and not to do.

How do you know that Ike also told -- well, let me back up. You say here that you and Ike told Aras it would be bad news and not to do. Did you ever tell Aras that directly or through Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Through Emin.

MR. SCHIFF: And how did you know that Ike had also communicated to Aras either directly or indirectly that this was a bad idea?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Because at some point, I don't recall exactly when, I

had ranted to Ike about this meeting, and he'd said simply: Yeah, I didn't think it was a good idea either.

MR. SCHIFF: Was this at a meeting -- did one of you, when this story began to break, communicate with the other and ask for a meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No. I believe shortly before I left on this sabbatical, Ike was in New York and was having a lunch with Roman Beniaminov and Jason Tropea at a hotel, possibly the Mandarin Oriental. And I wasn't in the lunch, but I was around. And Roman had indicated that they were all there and they, you know, wanted to say good-bye or Ike did or something like that. And I stopped by. And I believe it may have been at that that I said, "what a dumb meeting." And he goes: Yeah, yeah, I didn't want to do it either.

It was a very simple thing of him just saying, "I didn't want" -- he'd never said that before to me, that he didn't want to do it, but he made it as an aside. And so, in my rant, when I was doing this, I put his name in the -- to compound to Emin that not only did I think it was a dumb idea but so did Ike, or a bad idea.

MR. SCHIFF: This text message would have been?

MR. GOLDSTONE: This text message would have been July 10th potentially.

MR. SCHIFF: And so when would that either lunch or dinner meeting have been?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I left the U.S. approximately the 30th of June, so it would have been somewhere in the days before that.

MR. SCHIFF: And at that point, you had already been contacted by the lawyers.

MR. GOLDSTONE: You are correct, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you ever have a meeting with Ike Kaveladze or anyone else in that room at Trump Tower to discuss the meeting after it became public and what was going to be done or said about it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not, no.

MR. SCHIFF: On Bates stamp page 235, Emin asks you why this is going to ruin your reputation. And you reply in part: Have you been watching the news? And because I am not able to respond, out of courtesy to you and your father, so I am painted as some mysterious link to Putin.

Were you communicating to him that, because you couldn't and didn't tell the press that the Agalarovs were really behind the meeting, you were being portrayed as the link to Putin rather than the Agalarovs?



[5:35 p.m.]

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, I was saying that because of me not wanting to respond, because we hadn't yet come up with a statement. And by "we" at this stage, I mean myself and Emin, and possibly with Ike's input, as to what on earth I was going to say or were they going to say something.

So because I wasn't saying anything officially, the stories I had seen were, Am I a spy? Am I a Russian spy? Am I the link to Putin? That's what I was saying, was that because nobody was hearing the real story and there was no statement being put out by me, I'm the one, not them, that's being called some weird link to Putin.

MR. SCHIFF: And it's also because the lawyers hadn't finished the statement, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Can I? Which lawyers? Because I didn't have a lawyer --

MR. SCHIFF: Garten and Futerfas.

MR. GOLDSTONE: It wasn't that I was waiting or anybody was waiting for their statement. At this stage, Emin had said that Ike would speak with some attorneys and get back to Emin and afterwards we would talk about who was going to put a statement out, if Emin was, if I was, and what it was. We kind of moved on a bit from their statement they wanted us to put out.

MR. SCHIFF: What do you mean you moved on from it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, it was fairly obvious when I read -- and I'm referring to an email that you haven't seen -- but when I read a suggestion from -- I believe it came from Mr. Garten -- as to a statement I might want to put out, that it wasn't my voice, it was never anything I was going to say, and it didn't seem like

something that I would want to put out.

MR. SCHIFF: Was it also not fully accurate?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It's not so much that it wasn't fully accurate. It wasn't particularly inaccurate. It was more of a glowing endorsement of his client and not so much an example -- an opportunity for me to tell my story.

MR. SCHIFF: A glowing account of whose client?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Mr. Garten's and Mr. Futerfas'.

MR. SCHIFF: And their client being?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Don Jr.

MR. SCHIFF: Don Jr. And because we don't have the document in front of us, what, as best you can tell us, did the statement proposed by Mr. Garten say?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was really the way it was worded, that it was just that I would, you know, 100 percent endorse the fact that, you know, Don Jr. didn't really know the people involved, the meeting involved, and he did everything correct. It was about the correctness. Everything he did seemed correct. It was 100 percent correct.

Without the document in front of me as well, I don't want to give you exact words, but it was very much, to me, it sounded like a bit of an endorsement, as opposed to me putting out a factual statement.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you tell the lawyers, Garten and Futerfas, that it was your understanding that Emin had talked with Don Jr. and Don Jr. would know more than you would about what he knew going into the meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe that on the initial phone call I had with Mr. Futerfas I did say to him: I believe they spoke.

MR. SCHIFF: On Bates stamp 236, Emin says: Ike tells me you are now handling and releasing so -- and I assume that should be "some statement." I myself will be putting out the following statement shortly. My ideal statement would be, I was asked by my client in Moscow.

Is he proposing a statement to you now?

MR. GOLDSTONE: So, again, because I think this doesn't differentiate between who's saying what, and the colors are not quite there, if I can just check for a moment. But I believe this is probably him saying he is going to put his own statement out, and then me telling him what my ideal statement would be.

So when you said my ideal statement would be, that is now me to him. But I'm just going to check that that is what it is.

MR. SCHIFF: Yes.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, this is -- so this Emin saying Ike tells me -- no, no, no. This is me to Emin saying, Ike tells me you are now handling releasing some statement. I myself will be putting out the following statement shortly. And then I tell him what my ideal statement would be.

MR. SCHIFF: And in your ideal statement you say: "I was asked by my client in Moscow, Emin Agalarov, to request a meeting between a Russian attorney and Donald Trump Jr."

You don't refer to the Russian attorney as a government attorney or government prosecutor. Was that on the advice of Don Jr.'s lawyers.

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was not.

MR. SCHIFF: "The lawyer had apparently stated she had some interesting information regarding funding to the DNC from Russia."

You don't use the same language you used to describe it in setting up the

meeting, damaging information or incriminating information. Why did you decide to exclude that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The original wording, I think as I mentioned earlier, was intended to grab Don Jr.'s attention with a view to him and Emin then speaking about the actual details.

MR. SCHIFF: But you also said that he used the word "damaging" --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: -- in describing the information. So why didn't you use the words "damaging" and make reference to Hillary as, indeed, he had made reference to you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Because when it comes to a statement, what I usually counsel my PR clients is they should limit the information wherever possible and try and say as little as possible, but while factually trying to get their information across.

So I was probably condensing this. And this isn't a final statement. This is what my ideal statement would be.

MR. SCHIFF: Your ideal statement, is it fair to say, was an effort to sanitize what you would be saying publicly to conceal the fact that there was a promise made of damaging information about Hillary Clinton?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I think it's fair to say that.

MR. SCHIFF: It says: "I reached out to Donald Jr. and he agreed to" -- and where does -- oh, I guess it continues on 238 --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah.

MR. SCHIFF: -- "he agreed to squeeze us into a very tight schedule."

This was designed to convey that Donald Trump Jr. was doing this as a

favor rather than he was very interested in getting this information?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was designed to show that it was a very short meeting, that was part of the reasoning, in the midst of a very packed schedule of meetings.

MR. SCHIFF: You didn't want to communicate, I take it, that he had said that he would love to get this damaging information and would make himself available at the first opportunity when he was back?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know if it's that I didn't want to or -- you know, I believe I was in Athens. I had just been 10 days on a boat. It was the first day or maybe the second day after I appeared on -- I don't know that I even knew that at that stage. I'm not stating I didn't, but I don't know that I had all the information to hand. I was doing this on the phone in Athens literally just having landed.

I was just concerned with getting out a precised version of what had happened as a suggestion for Emin to show to his lawyers, potentially, before I put it out. I didn't have lawyers at this point.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, you said in a statement: Nothing came of that meeting and there was no followup between the parties. In fact, there was an effort at followup, wasn't there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, was there followup between the parties? I'm not sure. I mean, followup between the parties, I suppose, would have meant that I would have sent Ike's request to Don Jr., who then would have followed up or not.

I didn't. In this particular instance, I sent something to Rhona, who I suppose hadn't been involved in the first place.

MR. SCHIFF: Well, there was followup in the form of a request for a

second meeting after Mr. Trump prevailed in the election on the very same subject, wasn't there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, that is correct.

MR. SCHIFF: So when you said nothing came of that meeting and there was no followup between the parties, that's not accurate either, is it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I gave you my reasoning why I thought it was accurate. But I'm willing to accept it doesn't appear to be accurate, no.

██████████ One minute.

MR. SCHIFF: There is also a voice message from Emin after this. Is that one of the voice messages that was also turned over, to your knowledge?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe so, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: On Bates stamp page 240, Emin writes: "Rob, what email is everyone talking about? Was there an email?" And that's where you tell him about the email that you sent to Don Jr. to get the meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Uh-huh, correct.

██████████ That's time.

MR. SCHIFF: I yield back.

██████████ Are you comfortable, do you need a break?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, we're fine.

██████████ Okay, then 15 minutes again.

MR. SCHIFF: On July 10 there's a text message from Ike Kaveladze. "Just heard that Rob's name is out. How, I don't know. If you're in touch with him, please ask him to call me. Thank you. Just received it from Jr.'s attorney."

So this is a text message from Ike to Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I -- well, it's a text message from Ike to me showing

me the first paragraph saying what Don's attorney had just sent to him. It's very convoluted, but I hope that makes sense.

MR. SCHIFF: That makes sense. And what is the -- oh, this is July 10. "Hi, Ike spoke to Alan." That's Garten that you are referring to there?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm not sure which, but I would say it is -- I don't know which one I got back to. It was either Futerfas or Garten.

MR. SCHIFF: They are both Alan?

MR. GOLDSTONE: They are both Alan.

MR. SCHIFF: Oh, okay.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know which one.

MR. SCHIFF: "He is trying to find A, who leaked my name, and B, would prefer us to have no comment for today until they work on something."

You don't remember which of the lawyers said that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe most of my conversations were, in fact, with Alan Garten.

MR. SCHIFF: And did Mr. Garten follow up with you afterwards and tell you what you could say?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not tell me what I could say, but I believe they sent me an example of what they thought would make an interesting statement.

MR. SCHIFF: What they thought would make an interesting statement?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: What did they think would make an interesting statement?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Again, along the lines of that I agree wholeheartedly with what Don Jr. has said, you know, everything he said in it was correct. And, again, I didn't follow up on it.

MR. SCHIFF: On Bates stamp 244, a text message from Ike, it looks like it's to you. "Hello, Rob." Or you ask at the top: "Hello. Any news or developments at your end?"

He writes back, "Hello, Rob. Sorry. Can't discuss directly anymore. Please have your attorney contact Scott Balber. He will give you an update. Understood."

What date do you think this is?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe this is July 11, because I now have an attorney, and I believe that's the day I had an attorney.

MR. SCHIFF: Does this indicate that Ike has been given instructions not to talk to you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And who is Scott Balber?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He's Ike's attorney.

MR. SCHIFF: Is he also Mr. Agalarov's attorney?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe so.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, in the past he was Mr. Trump's attorney. Do you know how he came to go from being Mr. Trump's attorney to Mr. Agalarov's attorney?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have no idea.

MR. SCHIFF: If I could turn your attention to Bates stamp 246, I think this is the email -- one of the emails that we had discuss earlier where you're transmitting the synopsis of the --

MR. GAGE: Actually we have that.

MR. SCHIFF: 246?



MR. GOLDSTONE: Mine ends at 245, but maybe it is somewhere else.

MR. SCHIFF: The last document I have is 247.

MR. GAGE: Oh, yes. Just off the record for a second.

[Discussion off the record.]

MR. SCHIFF: So I'm going to direct your attention to document 246. This is an email dated November 28, 2016, from you to Rhona.

"Hi, Rhona. Aras Agalarov asked me to pass on this document and hope it can be passed on to the appropriate team. If needed, a lawyer representing the case is in New York currently and happy to meet with any member of his transition team. Best, Rob."

Was that the synopsis of the document that Ike emailed you from Veselnitskaya?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you get a reply from Rhona about this?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't believe I did.

MR. SCHIFF: Turning to the last page of production 247, it's from Anthony Scaramucci to you, dated July 23, 2017.

"I don't officially start until the 15th, Rob, but I just wanted to drop you a line to say, if you ever need to pick my brains, then my door is always open. Obviously, there's still pressure on all sides, but if we remain consistent and united, I don't envisage any issues we can't ride out."

Was this the first communication you got from Mr. Scaramucci?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, it's purported to be from Mr. Scaramucci.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you have any reason to believe it wasn't from Mr. Scaramucci? You keep emphasizing that.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I thought it was an odd email to get out of the blue, and I passed it on to my attorney.

MR. GAGE: To be clear, if it were a privilege log it would say from Rob Goldstone to me. That's the attorney-client on that.

MR. SCHIFF: I'm sorry, say that again.

MR. GAGE: So when Rob says he passed it on to his attorney --

MR. SCHIFF: Yes.

MR. GAGE: -- he sent it to me.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay.

MR. GAGE: And that's the redaction.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. I thought you were commenting on whether this is an authentic document or not.

MR. GAGE: And, Congressman, what I was saying is, if we had produced a privilege log, that's why I shared that piece of information with you. Obviously, a privilege log would say the to, from, and I'm just saying the redaction reflects that Rob transmitted it to me, this document.

MR. SCHIFF: Okay. Thank you.

Do you know what Mr. Scaramucci meant by "remaining consistent and united," and if you did, you could ride it out?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I skimmed this as an email and immediately just sent it to my attorney. I paid no attention to it whatsoever.

MR. SCHIFF: I'm going to yield to Mr. Swalwell and he will take you through, I think, the voicemails as well as some of the other chronology that wasn't part of the documents.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Thank you.

MR. SWALWELL: Thank you, Mr. Goldstone.

Mr. Goldstone, did Steve Bannon ever follow up with you about the November 28, 2016, email that you had sent to Rhona?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe he did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Is that something you would have recalled if he had?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Probably.

MR. SWALWELL: Had you ever met Steve Bannon before?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have not.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you talked to him since this investigation?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have not.

MR. SWALWELL: On the November 23, 2016, email, Bates stamped 182, from Ike to you, where he is passing along Natalia's proposal, why didn't you shoot it down at that point, having already been embarrassed once by Natalia, as you described it to us? Why didn't you tell Ike, you know, this woman, in your presence, already wasted everyone's time? Why would you allow it to continue?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was still in the employ of Emin Agalarov at that point. As such, as his manager, I'm required to, within legal parameters, do what it takes to help my client.

It was, I felt, very obvious to Ike, based on our 3 or 4 years of working relationship, that he would know from my responses what my thoughts were. And, certainly, by the time we got some text messages it was kind of very obvious.

When I said I think Emin should reach out to Trump, well, he has never done that. So I realized -- well, I hoped that Ike would understand what I was saying, which was I had no interest in following up on this.

MR. SWALWELL: And you understood Ike to have his own relationship

with Ms. Veselnitskaya, meaning that he knew here. Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, I didn't know that.

MR. SWALWELL: Well, if he is forwarding along to you documents that she wants passed along to the Trumps, would you say it is safe to assume that a reasonable person would assume that he knew Ms. Veselnitskaya?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, I think he could have received it in many different ways, including from her, but I have no idea how he received it.

MR. SWALWELL: So going through the individuals who were in the meeting, you talked to Emin about the statement that you were going to give publicly. Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And you know that Emin, separately from talking to you, routinely talks to Ike, is that right, that he has his own relationship with Ike?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He definitely has his own relationship. I don't know how often he speaks to him, but yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And you knew, according to Bates stamp 241, in your text message exchange with Ike, that Ike was in contact with Don Trump Jr.'s attorney. Is that correct? He tells you, "Just received from it Jr.'s attorney." Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And we can assume that if Donald Trump Jr.'s attorney is aware of what your statement is going to be, that Donald Trump Jr. probably also knew what your statement was going to be, right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I mean, I would hate to assume.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to Rinat following the meeting on June 9?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have not, no.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you talked to him since June 9?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have not.

MR. SWALWELL: Is Rinat someone that you knew like to have his own relationship with?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if Emin had his own relationship with --

MR. GOLDSTONE: I do not.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Emin think that the June 9 meeting was a good idea?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Based on subsequent voicemails, at least one of which we have submitted, he says: I know you didn't want to; I didn't want to do it either. So I suppose the answer was no.

MR. SWALWELL: I just want to play that for you, and I will, if it is okay with counsel, I will waive transcription for this and we will submit it as an exhibit, exhibit 1.

[Goldstone Exhibit No. 1

Was marked for identification.]

██████████ That's fine.

[Audio played.]

MR. SWALWELL: Is that Emin's voice on the recording?

██████████ Mr. Swalwell, before we go further, just so the record is clear, can you say which Bates number that is?

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah, that was voicemail number 4 provided by Mr. Goldstone. It's marked as RG000251 in the Bates stamp.

██████████ Thank you.

MR. SWALWELL: But your recollection is at the time Emin didn't have a position on whether the meeting was a good idea or a bad idea?

MR. GOLDSTONE: If he did, he didn't convey that to me, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: I'm going to play one more for you. If you can just listen and tell me if you recognize it. It is RG000254.

[Audio played.]

██████████ One minute.

MR. SWALWELL: Is that Emin's voice?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It is.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, Emin was not at the meeting.

MR. GOLDSTONE: He was not.

MR. SWALWELL: Yet he is describing to you details about the meeting, like, for example, that it lasted 15 minutes. Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: That is right.

MR. SWALWELL: How would Emin have known how long the meeting lasted?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He knows most things, he believes.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you tell him how long the meeting had lasted?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, but Ike may have told him. I didn't tell him how long it lasted, no.

MR. SWALWELL: When he says, "Mine and my dad's position would be no comment due to the fact that Mr. Trump is the President and, you know, any

information we might reveal might hurt him," that is Emin attempting to protect Mr. Trump. Is that right? Is that how you received it?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I understood it as Emin -- not protect in a sinister way, but protect because they considered each other friendly acquaintances or friends almost.

So, yes, I don't think "protect" is the right word, but not say anything, just, you know, kind of say something which they could just think is a -- I don't make sense, but I'm trying to make sense.

They could say something that they feel is a completely throwaway remark that might come back and be, you know, hurtful to Mr. Trump. That's what I interpreted him as saying. I have no idea what he is saying. But that's, when I listened to it, that's what I interpret it as.

██████████ That's time. Yield back.

MR. SWALWELL: And your job as Emin's publicist up until when you left was also to protect Emin. Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, my job up until I left was as his international music manager. So I managed all aspects of his life as it related to his career. So it wasn't to protect him as such, but I felt protective towards him.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first meet Donald Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I think, as I explained earlier, I met him on a red carpet at a Friar's Club event that I was doing in 2011, approximately.

MR. SWALWELL: On the Magnitsky Act, had Aras ever discussed that to you? Had you ever heard Aras express any position on the Magnitsky Act prior to June 9?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, prior to June 9, I had never even heard of a

Magnitsky or an act called Magnitsky, so, no.

MR. SWALWELL: And the same Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He'd never discussed it with me.

MR. SWALWELL: And is it the same thing for Ike?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He had never discussed it with me.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Russian adoptions? Had Aras ever discussed Russian adoptions prior to June 9 with you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, he had not.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Emin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He had not.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Ike?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He had not.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Aras ever discuss Oleg Deripaska in your presence?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Ike?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Are you asking if he ever --

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah, did Ike ever bring up Mr. Deripaska in your presence?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Emin, did he ever bring up Mr. Deripaska?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: You mentioned that you do not know Felix Sater. Did Emin ever mention Felix Sater in your presence?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not to my knowledge, no.



MR. SWALWELL: Did Aras?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I've never heard him mention him.

MR. SWALWELL: You mentioned a 2014 dinner that you had with Donald Trump Jr. at Nobu with Emin. Do you remember talking about that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Who else was at that dinner?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Just myself, Don Jr., and Emin.

MR. SWALWELL: And your recollection of the dinner was that Emin was following up on Donald Trump Sr.'s suggestion that Emin meet with Don Jr. to talk about a Trump Tower in Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: And logistics, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Was there any followup to that meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: There was followup inasmuch as on one occasion Ivanka Trump was in Russia; nothing to do with the Agalarovs, as I understand. And Emin had called me and said: Oh, Ivanka is in Russia. Somebody reached out to me and said she is going to stop by and look at Crocus.

So that was a followup because they talked about the potential of Trump Tower. Outside of that, I don't recall any other, no.

MR. SWALWELL: How would you communicate with Donald Trump Sr.?

MR. GOLDSTONE: How?

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, I never communicated with him directly, but if I needed to be an intermediary between the Agalarovs, I would, on most occasions, speak through Rhona Graff.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever -- have you ever talked to him on the

phone before, Donald Trump Sr.?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have not.

MR. SWALWELL: No.

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Had you ever received any emails from Rhona with Donald Trump Sr. writing over the emails as you presented to us with he writing to Aras?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I had, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: You had. And what were those with regard to?

MR. GOLDSTONE: On one occasion, I believe it was where Aras had wished him a happy birthday, and he scrolled, thank you and Donald Trump. And on another one it was where he had provided information or sent a copy of a story that I believe The Washington Post had run about them and their relationship, and he had scrolled on it, like, you know, their fake news, or something, we're winning, or something like that.

MR. SWALWELL: Going back to the planning of the 2013 Miss Universe, it's your testimony that that was planned approximately 5 months before in a kind of extemporaneous way between Emin and Ms. Shughart. Is that correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, it is. Approximately 5, 6 months, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first meet Ms. Shughart?

MR. GOLDSTONE: On that occasion, on that day.

MR. SWALWELL: And would you stay in regular contact with her?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: When was the last time you talked to her?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Prior to leaving on my sabbatical, so sometime

in -- actually, the last time I saw her, probably the last time I spoke to her, was on around May 26 of this year. She attended a charity event that was my last event before going on my sabbatical.

MR. SWALWELL: And where was that event?

MR. GOLDSTONE: What or where?

MR. SWALWELL: Where?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was at Capitale (ph) in New York.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you gone to subsequent Miss USA Pageant in the United States? You went in 2013 in Vegas. We talked about that. Did you go in subsequent years?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not to Miss USA.

MR. SWALWELL: Which ones did you go to?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I went to -- I was, again, a prelim judge in January of this year in the Philippines for Miss Universe.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see Ms. Shughart at all in June 2016 following the Trump Tower meetings?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have no idea.

MR. SWALWELL: Is it possible that you could have seen her somewhere?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Possible.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to [REDACTED] throughout 2016,

[REDACTED]

MR. GOLDSTONE: Throughout 2016?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. GOLDSTONE: When I would visit Paula Shughart in their offices and

[REDACTED]

was around, yes, I would say hello.

MR. SWALWELL: How often in 2016 would you go by their offices to visit with them?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not very many. Maybe three or four.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you remember ever going by their offices post-June 9, 2016?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I mean, I don't recall it. I may have gone in to say good-bye because I was leaving. I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever mention to Ms. Shughart that Donald Trump Jr. was breathing down your neck to get followup on the June 9 emails?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to Ms. Shughart ever about the Trump Tower meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Possibly.

MR. SWALWELL: When would that have been?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to her -- we just talked about in-person meetings. Did you ever talk to her on the telephone after June 9 by text or by phone call?

MR. GOLDSTONE: After June 9 of 2016?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Oh, many times.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you ever talk to her on the telephone about the Trump Tower meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Possibly.

MR. SWALWELL: What was the purpose of you mentioning to Ms.

Shughart the Trump Tower meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was happy to tell any of my friends -- and I considered Paula quite a close -- not close, but a friend -- about how bizarre I thought this meeting was that I had been to.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you tell her that dirt was offered on Hillary Clinton to set up the meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know if I talked in specifics, no.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever tell Ms. Shughart about any followup from the June 9 meeting that Donald Trump Jr. had requested of you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Had Donald Trump Jr. requested any followup after the June 9 meeting to you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He had not.

MR. SWALWELL: And how would you communicate with Donald Trump Jr. other than the email that clearly the two of you had with each other?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Mostly email, and then around the time of the election, on his cell phone. I know I sent him a couple of cell phone texts, I believe, that just said congratulations --

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to him on the phone between June 9 and the election date?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe I never spoke to him on the phone.

MR. SWALWELL: And [REDACTED], the same thing. Did you ever talk to her in person or by phone after the June 9, 2016, meeting about the Trump Tower meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not that I know of, no.

Can I just, for clarity, talking about [REDACTED]

MR. SWALWELL: The one associated with the Miss Universe.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah. No, I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Thank you for clarifying.

The Miss Universe Pageant in Moscow, was Mr. Schiller there with any other security assistant of his?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not of his, no.

MR. SWALWELL: He was assisted by Emin's security, you mentioned.

MR. GOLDSTONE: And also the Miss Universe organization also has, the pageant has its own security detail as well.

MR. SWALWELL: And you observed them assisting Mr. Schiller, the pageant security detail?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I didn't necessarily see them assist him, but they were there, I'm sure, if he had needed assistance, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: How do you know that Donald Trump came on Phil Ruffin's chat?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Because I was told by, I believe, Paula.

MR. SWALWELL: When did Paula tell you that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Obviously, prior to them leaving because we needed tail numbers and everything, but at the time when it -- in -- probably in the last week.

MR. SWALWELL: So you were a part of arranging Mr. Trump's schedule at least in his arrival there in Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know which airport in Moscow he arrived at?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Cheremetziva (ph).

MR. SWALWELL: And who was on the plane with him?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know exactly who was on it arriving in, but it was Mr. Trump, Mr. Schiller, Mr. Ruffin, and his wife.

MR. SWALWELL: Whose wife?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Mr. Ruffin's wife. I only know that because I was told she was a former Miss Ukraine Universe or something.

So those were the people I knew of. If they had anybody else, we weren't informed.

MR. SWALWELL: Was there a manifest that was provided to you for arranging travel?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not to me. It was provided to Emin's head of logistics.

MR. SWALWELL: Who's that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It is a lady by the name of Svetlana Bignova.

MR. SWALWELL: How do you spell the last name?

MR. GOLDSTONE: B-i-g-n-o-v-a.

MR. SWALWELL: Who provide it to her?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Where did you stay those days in Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was in Moscow for about 3 weeks, which is the time that most of the contestants and logistics took place. I stayed at -- there are some suites attached to the Crown Plaza Hotel in Moscow. And then in the final few days I, when Mr. Trump arrived, I moved to the Ritz Carlton Hotel, the same hotel that he stayed in.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know whether Mr. Trump stayed at presidential suite at the Ritz Carlton?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know that it was presidential, but I do know there was a lot of talk with Emin and Ms. Bignova and the team about what level of suites he would require. So I believe they required the best possible. It could well have been presidential.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever go to Mr. Trump's room?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Mr. Trump ever talk about which room he was staying at?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He did not, to me.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you have an itinerary or sequence of events from the Miss Universe Pageant in 2013?

MR. GOLDSTONE: There was one. I don't have it.

MR. SWALWELL: Would it have been emailed to you back in 2013?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, I'm sure it would, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Is that something you can check to see if you still have and produce to us?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Of course.

MR. SWALWELL: Thank you.

Did you see Ruffin, Mr. Ruffin, in Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know him as such, but I'm sure that he would have been at the after party and also would have been seated for the event. I possibly was introduced to him. I don't recall.

MR. SWALWELL: So you talked about a, you said, 3 to 4 o'clock arrival for



Mr. Trump on the day before the pageant. Do you remember talking about that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Walk me through what happened, to your knowledge, from the time Mr. Trump arrived until the last time you saw Mr. Trump that first day.

MR. GOLDSTONE: As I say, the landing was possibly somewhere around 3 to 4. We had this 6 p.m. event at Nobu.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you meet Mr. Trump at the airport when he arrived?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Keep going.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was with Emin at Nobu to meet him there, and there were approximately 20 -- so we had given notice in advance through Paula and that we needed Mr. Trump to come directly from the airport to Nobu. Because he shortened it by a day, we had to cram everything in.

He arrived on time. I don't know what that time was, maybe 5, 5:30. Emin and myself greeted him, and Aras joined us in front.

He was with Keith Schiller. I don't believe he was with the other two people from the plane. I think they may have gone to the hotel.

We welcomed him to Moscow, took him up in an elevator to Nobu. And Emin made a short introduction, welcomed him. Aras said a few words in Russian, so I have no idea what he said. And --

MR. SWALWELL: Was there an interpreter for Aras?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Emin usually acts as the interpreter for Aras, and would do simultaneous translation.

And then they invited questions, as I mentioned. And there were a few

questions to Mr. Trump. What did he think of Russia? What were his impressions of Russia? What were his impressions of how the Russian economy was doing? I think I already related a story, they talked about this European debt crisis, and he gave a somewhat interesting answer.

MR. SWALWELL: What happened at the end of the dinner? Where did Mr. Trump go?

MR. GOLDSTONE: There was no dinner. So it was -- at the end of it -- it lasted approximately 45 minutes, maximum.

MR. SWALWELL: Where did Mr. Trump go?

MR. GOLDSTONE: We took him out and we said, it's probably a good idea to go to your hotel because in a few hours, as you know, it's Aras' birthday.

And so that night was Aras' birthday for 500 or so people. Mr. Trump would be one of the guests of honor, if not the guest of honor. So the idea was that he would go to his hotel and check in.

On the way down -- well, Emin had said to me earlier in the day, I'm shooting my music video tomorrow at the Ritz Carlton. I've had an idea. I think you could probably get Mr. Trump to be in my video. Which was an interesting request.

And so he said to me, let's do it like "The Apprentice." If we do it like that, he'll be used to it, he'll know what to do. Please just ask him.

So as we were leaving Nobu, I took the opportunity to say, Mr. Trump, I know this is an unusual request. We haven't run it past you earlier. But Emin is actually shooting a music video tomorrow at 8 a.m. Is there any chance you would be in it?

And he said: Well, what would I have to do?

And I said: It's like "The Apprentice." You love "The Apprentice," apparently. You just talked about it. And you would just fire him and do that.

And he goes: If you can do it in 15 minutes, I would do it. To which Emin, who was standing next to me went: 13.

So we'd agreed that Mr. Trump would do a music video the next day. And so we put him in his car. He went back to the hotel to -- I don't know what he did. I assume he checked into the hotel because he hadn't yet checked into the hotel. And, you know, he would be met again by Emin's security and take them to Crocus City Hall, where in the restaurant there Aras would celebrate his birthday that evening.

MR. SWALWELL: At midnight.

MR. GOLDSTONE: At midnight he celebrated, but the dinner started around 9 p.m.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see Mr. Trump later that evening?

██████████ One minute.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did see Mr. Trump later that evening.

MR. SWALWELL: Who was he with?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know who he was with because I didn't see him arrive as such, but he was seated at a table with Paula, for sure, and Aras, and I believe Aras' wife Irina (ph). And I don't know if Emin sat there, but almost certainly, I would imagine, Emin sat with them.

I didn't. I was busy doing other things, including organizing a music video for the next morning.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see Mr. Schiller?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe I did. Whenever I saw Mr. Trump, I always

saw Mr. Schiller not very far behind.

MR. SWALWELL: How long did Mr. Trump stay at this party?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He stayed -- so the way Emin and Aras like to do their birthdays, and I've witnessed four or five of them, is they have it the night before, and when the clock strikes midnight, it's then your birthday.

So he stayed at least until the birthday celebration at midnight, at which point Emin performed with his band for at least 45 minutes, as did other people. So I would say he left approximately 1 a.m.

MR. SWALWELL: Who did he leave with?

Yield back.

██████████ And yield back to you.

MR. SWALWELL: Thank you.

MR. GAGE: Can I just request a short bathroom break, maybe after the narrative about Miss Universe?

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. Thank you. I appreciate it.

Who did you observe Mr. Trump leave with?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I didn't observe him leave.

MR. SWALWELL: So how can you estimate when he left?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Because people started drifting away after the performance. And I don't recall anybody saying as I was always told when anything -- nobody said to me, "Oh, Mr. Trump is still here."

Once we got past Emin's performance, which was, as I said, close to 1 a.m., most of us started drifting back, me included. I was back at the Ritz Carlton by 1:30, and it's approximately a 30-minute drive.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see Mr. Trump the next morning at 8 a.m. for

the video shoot?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes. I called Keith Schiller about 15 minutes before and just said, is he still on to do this? Our directors have worked all night. They put multiple locations. And Mr. Trump came down about -- I believe about 8:15.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever -- did you have Mr. Schiller's contact information on this trip?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I did.

MR. SWALWELL: How would you communicate with him?

MR. GOLDSTONE: By phone, I believe. Yes, by phone.

MR. SWALWELL: Was that text message or just voice?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was both. Also, we'd been assigned phones -- or I had, at least -- for the duration I was there, which we had to return after the Miss Universe, kind of phones that everyone connected with it, but it's on a local -- that's what I'm trying to say, a local telephone. So I don't know if I spoke to him on my phone, or that phone, or --

MR. SWALWELL: Who were assigned. Who gave him your local telephone?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Svetlana Bignova, the logistics person.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Mr. Schiller have a local telephone?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know. I would presume not, actually.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Mr. Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Mr. Trump ever receive a phone call, to your knowledge or in your presence, from Mr. Putin any of the dates he was in Moscow?

MR. GOLDSTONE: From Mr. Putin?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Directly from Mr. Putin?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever hear that being discussed, a phone call being arranged?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Between Mr. Putin and Mr. Trump?

MR. GOLDSTONE: An idea of a phone call being arranged, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And to your knowledge, was that ever executed?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: I yield to Mr. Schiff.

MR. SCHIFF: I just had a couple of other questions.

Apart from the discussion you had with Mr. Manafort briefly about the VK social media, I didn't have a chance to ask you much about that.

How were you approached originally to present this idea?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I had, during the press conference for the Miss Universe in Moscow in 2013, there had been a sea of media, and in the front were a couple of guys from the big radio station there who I had been wanting to get to focus on Emin over there. And they came up and one of them said, "Olivia Culpo is the most beautiful woman I have ever seen in my life. How do I get a photo with her?" And I said, "You play my artist on your radio station." And from that, we had become really good friends. And it's someone called Constantine Sudorakov.

And in years to come, he got a job as partner relations and marketing for VK. And he was about 16 or 17 when he was working as an intern for the radio station during Miss Universe and now is all of about 22, so he was very eager. And he had seen Emin and I post photos with Donald Trump when I was in Vegas with Donald Trump. And he said to me, "You know, I think my bosses" -- and he speaks great English -- he goes, "I think my bosses would be so shocked if I was able to get Mr. Trump to do a small video. How do you think I would do it?"

So I said, "I have no idea." And he said, "Well, if I write something, could you pass it along?" And I said, "Well, yes, and I could also find out who it is that you would need to speak with."

So it was as a favor for a friend. And he was quite persistent, and he followed up on a few different occasions.

And when I was in that room and saw Mr. Manafort, I just thought, well, now is probably a good time to bring it up. And I had -- for two reasons. One, in my mind, I thought we just had this bit of a flat meeting, and so maybe they would think it wasn't quite so awful if I actually said, "Oh, by the way, I have this friend who wants to blah, blah, VK. Who would he speak to? Is Dan Scavino the right person?" And Mr. Manafort said yes.

MR. SCHIFF: So it was at the request of this young person that you --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: -- approached the campaign about a Facebook page or a video?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, VK page.

MR. SCHIFF: VK page, right.

MR. GOLDSTONE: It was for him to do -- what he wanted him to do was a

message of, as he said, to Russian American voters, to say -- and he wanted it as a little video at one point. But then I think he would have, by the end of it, taken it as anything.

And I didn't get into the detail because he was the one that sent the emails. I merely passed them on. And on one occasion, I kind of summarized what he had said.

But I always attached his email. I had no connection with VK. I had a connection with somebody who worked for VK.

MR. SCHIFF: And was there ever a connection made between the CEO of VK and the campaign?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, none to my knowledge.

MR. SCHIFF: And did anything come of your passing this information on to Mr. Scavino?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe he did answer either myself or Mr. Sudorakov at one point, but nothing came of it at all. He never ended up doing a promotion for VK.

MR. SCHIFF: In one of the voicemails, Bates stamped 250, it says, "Bomberg (ph), stay cool." Is that your nickname?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, only to Emin. It is a ridiculous name, but, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: "Bomberg (ph), stay cool. You you have nothing to do with this. Everything you've done is just connected people. You have no comments on this as far as anyone else is concerned. But I think Ike and the lawyers have basically a strategy to follow up. I'll give you a call later today. Let's discuss. Or give me a call whenever you want to speak."

Did you speak with Emin later that day?



MR. GOLDSTONE: I'm not sure. Probably.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you recall what that conversation was about?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't. I'm not even sure that I did speak to him later that day. But I certainly spoke with him during that period, yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And you spoke with him about how to react to the press inquiries?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And what was -- tell me as much as you can recall about that conversation.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Emin's advice was simply to talk to my lawyer. He liked the statement I had done, and he simply wanted me to just submit it and wait to see what my legal advice was.

MR. SCHIFF: And the last question I have for you before I turn it back is in Bates stamp 190, 192, you're communicating with Ike Kaveladze, and it's about Western Union transactions, and he sends 19,826. What was that for?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, there's two things there. The Western Union relates to just \$600.

One of Emin's bands used to have three small children and is unable to buy Amazon products with his credit card there. So he would often send it to my address and buy it with his own card.

On this occasion, he didn't -- his card didn't work, so I paid for it. And Mr. Kaveladze was going to be in Moscow, and so Emin's band manager had said: Here is the \$600 that's owed to Rob. The problem is, Ike lives on the West Coast, I live on the East Coast, so I would still not have seen him.

So he Western Unioned me the \$600. That's the Western Union part of it.

The second part of it is later in here, or on the next page, wherever it is, yes, next page, he says: Hello, 19,826, want your direction today.

So as I said before, Ike was my contact always for being paid. So it represented a \$15,000 fee and it represented expenses for having traveled wherever I've traveled. I have no idea at the time. And it was him alerting me to the fact that Corsy, his business, or their business, or whose ever business it was that paid us every month, had paid us.

MR. SCHIFF: And the face time or call that was scheduled at that point, do you remember what that was regarding?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't, but I'll have a look now and see.

No, I don't.

MR. SCHIFF: I'll yield back to Mr. Swalwell.

MR. SWALWELL: Thank you.

Mr. Goldstone, I'm going to show you exhibit 3. It attempts to depict the Trump Tower conference room table.

[Goldstone Exhibit No. 3

Was marked for identification.]

MR. SWALWELL: Do you mind, to the best of your recollection, just using initials of the people who were at the meeting, can you mark with their initials, RG for yourself, where each person sat?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I can. Could someone remind me of the initials of not the translator, but the other person?

MR. SWALWELL: Was it Rinat Akhmetshin?

MR. GOLDSTONE: So it's RA, yeah. And I'm sorry, and the translator's initials?

MR. SWALWELL: Do you remember that person as Anatoli Samochornov.

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have no idea who it was, but sure.

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah. So looking at it as I am sitting now, that is how it looked.

MR. SWALWELL: And could you sign the bottom of that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Thanks. And so where you're sitting in exhibit 3, is that the window side or is it the -- is that the wall side of Trump Tower? Were you looking out the window or is the window behind you?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe the window was behind myself and Jared Kushner.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. So you were sitting directly next to Jared Kushner?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And Donald Trump Jr. and Paul Manafort were sitting at the head of the table?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And across from you was what you've described earlier as the Russia delegation.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And we can make a copy of this and provide it to you and counsel.

MR. GOLDSTONE: You can indeed.

MR. SWALWELL: Would you agree that Donald Trump Jr. demonstrated

an eagerness to meet with you when you proposed this meeting by email, that he was responsive and showed maximum flexibility?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I think he showed a small level of caution in which he agreed with what I had said: Perhaps it's best that you speak with Emin first. I believe in his response he goes: Perhaps it's best if I speak with Emin, or words to that effect, and I don't quite have it in front of me. But I believe that is what he said.

MR. GAGE: It's here.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah, I have it here. Yeah, perhaps I just speak to Emin first.

MR. SWALWELL: But he was responsive to your email.

MR. GOLDSTONE: He was responsive, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And he showed flexibility in the time that he could meet. Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Inasmuch as that we had a time and then we needed to change the time, yes, there was some flexibility, it appeared, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And you did actually have to change the time, right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: We did, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And he accommodated the change of time?

MR. GOLDSTONE: He did.

MR. SWALWELL: And you said that the Agalarovs knew nothing about politics. Do you remember saying that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, I said to Emin, you're a musician, you don't know about politics, and your father. He said: Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: But they were friends of Donald Trump, correct?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, they knew him for about --

MR. SWALWELL: Would you describe them as friends?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I would describe them as friendly.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if the Agalarovs helped assist Donald Trump in his campaign in any way?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar with a July 24, 2015, email attempting to set up a meeting with President Putin, which Emin could set up?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I am familiar with the email, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And Donald Trump was a candidate for the Republican nomination at that point. Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, I believe he was.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if that meeting ever took place?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It did not, no.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if Mr. Trump was in the building on June 9?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: You saw Mr. Schiller?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I saw Mr. Schiller, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And Mr. Schiller usually was near wherever you would see Mr. Trump. Is that right?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Well, if I could put it a different way, whenever I had seen Mr. Trump, Mr. Schiller was near him. I don't know, and I'm not splitting hairs, that whenever Mr. Schiller was around Mr. Trump was near him.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever ask to see Mr. Trump when you were

there on June 9?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Why not?

MR. GOLDSTONE: It never entered my head. Well, going in I was delivering these people, and by the time I left, I was embarrassed at having even asked his son, let alone him, for anything.

MR. SWALWELL: Who would you say, Mr. Goldstone, would be the best person who could tell us why that June 9 meeting at Trump Tower occurred?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I would imagine, I would suggest, that you would interview everybody that was there.

MR. SWALWELL: But who do you think would be the person that would know the genesis of that meeting that led you to send that email that brings us here today? Would it be Emin? Or do you think it would be Mr. Agalarov?

[6:40 p.m.]

MR. GOLDSTONE: Can you just not rephrase it, but tell me again what you're saying that you think they know or whatever is it?

MR. SWALWELL: Well, you testified earlier that you're not quite sure where Emin was getting his information about having dirt on Hillary Clinton. Do you remember talking about that?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe I -- well, I believe his information would have come from his father.

MR. SWALWELL: So do you believe that if we wanted to know the genesis of that June 9th meeting, that his father, Aras Agalarov, would be the best person to talk to as to why this was set in motion?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I think my previous comment would stand, which is -- if you're asking me just for my opinion, I would suggest -- I would imagine that you would speak with everybody you could that was involved in any of it -- in the chain.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you been to Russia -- had you traveled to Russia in 2016 at all?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes, I had.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you go after the June 9th meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: When?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I went for -- in July 2016, we filmed a PBS special in Saint Petersburg with Emin. I was in Moscow prior to that doing some film cutaways for it. We did a live concert in front of the Hermitage (ph) for 50,000

people in July 2016. I was in Moscow in December of 2016 for Emin's birthday concert and his birthday party.

MR. SWALWELL: When you were in Moscow following the June 9th meeting and Saint Petersburg, did you ever talk to Emin about the June 9th meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No that I recall, no.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you talk to anyone in Russia about the June 9th meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Why not?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I think as -- as I said at the very beginning, I was tasked with getting a meeting. The rest of it -- I wasn't even supposed to be at the meeting. I was only there because Don asked me to sit down. So, once I'd made it clear how I was embarrassed and annoyed at having to do it, that was it for me. There was nothing else to follow up on.

MR. SWALWELL: How many times had you gone to Russia prior to the June 9th meeting in 2016?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I believe approximately 12 or 13.

MR. SWALWELL: I'm sorry. I meant in 2016. In 2016, how many times have you gone to Russia?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Just in that year?

MR. SWALWELL: Just in that year, prior to June 9th.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Ah, prior to June 9th. I'm not sure, to be honest. I would say probably once. Maybe twice.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you there relatively close to June 9th, meaning



were you there in the month of June or --

MR. GOLDSTONE: I was there I think a couple of weeks before the meeting, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you talk to anybody a couple weeks before the June 9th while you were in Russia about Donald Trump or his campaign?

MR. GOLDSTONE: The subject of Donald Trump always came up with anybody I ever met in Russia, whether it was waiters who worked for one of Emin's 25 restaurants or if it was people -- the minute they knew you were American, the subject of Donald Trump would come up.

MR. SWALWELL: Did anyone know that you knew the Trump family?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I mean, I don't know the Trump family that well, but sure.

MR. SWALWELL: But you're able to get them to respond to your emails pretty fast.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah. People who worked with Emin would know that, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: So, in your meeting prior -- so you went to Russia a couple of weeks before --

MR. GOLDSTONE: With PBS actually -- with the PBS director.

MR. SWALWELL: A couple weeks before the June 9th meeting?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And while you were there, a couple of weeks before the June 9th meeting, did you talk with anybody other than Emin and his father about your relationship to the Trump family or about the Trump family? And let's separate the people who know you're American and want talk about it.

MR. GOLDSTONE: Yeah. I mean I may have -- we had a commissioning editor at PBS. We had a director at PBS. I'm sure over a drink or over dinner, the subject of Donald Trump and the election would have come up for sure. But you're asking me if I spoke specifically about the meeting?

MR. SWALWELL: No. I'm just talking about --

MR. GOLDSTONE: Oh. I'm sure that I would have said that I'd met Donald Trump or Emin and I have met Donald Trump for sure.

MR. SWALWELL: How about with any Russian Government officials?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you meet with any of them prior to the June 9th meeting in Russia?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Not that I know of, no.

MR. SWALWELL: How much time do we have? Is it still under or over 5 minutes before the votes are called?

██████████ I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see Steve Bannon in the June 9 the meeting on the floor?

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever met Dana Rohrabacher before?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have not.

MR. SWALWELL: I'm almost finished.

MR. GOLDSTONE: No, no.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever been to Russia before with Mr. Trump other than the Miss Universe?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I have not.

MR. SWALWELL: Can you just tell me what you do know about Corsy, C-o-r-s-y?

MR. GOLDSTONE: I know that it's a company that paid me regularly monthly and that I submitted my bills through Roman Beniaminov and somehow that's how I got paid. And when I say "I," by the way, I was never paid as an individual; my company was paid.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if anyone ever communicated to Donald Trump Sr. that the June 9th meeting had occurred before it was reported in the press?

MR. GOLDSTONE: Have no idea.

MR. SWALWELL: I yield back.

MR. SCHIFF: We yield back.

██████████ Just a couple of questions and we will get you out of here. The words "collusion," "coordination" --

MR. SCHIFF: I'm sorry to interrupt. We're going to go vote, and we'll probably not be back. We're going to leave you with our counsel. Thank you for coming in.

MR. GAGE: Again, I appreciate the courtesy on the rescheduling too.

██████████ I will be brief, I promise. I anticipate I will be brief.

#### EXAMINATION

BY ██████████

Q The words "collusion," "coordination," and "conspiracy," do those words all have substantially the same meaning to you?

A Not necessarily, no.

Q Okay. Let's start with collusion. What does that mean to you?

A That people or parties have -- I was about to say colluded with each other, but that doesn't help. Obviously, it has a negative connotation of doing things they shouldn't with each over. I don't know how best to explain it.

Q How about coordinate?

A Coordinate?

Q How about coordinate?

A Well, coordinate I look as something that I often have to do, which is to bring parties or ideas together.

Q How about conspiracy?

A Conspiracy has a darker meaning to me, which is that, you know people would -- it's amazing how you can't think of words, conspire I was about to say, to do something they shouldn't.

Q I will tell you what: I will ask these questions separately for each of those meanings. We've had you here for the better part of 5 hours now. And you said -- I believe you said earlier this is the third hearing in 3 business days in which you've testified.

A Yes.

Q So all of that time, all of those hearings, all of the times today, all of the documents you've looked at, are you aware of then candidate Donald Trump colluding with anybody from the Russian Government or anybody working on its behalf to influence the outcome of the 2016 Presidential election?

A I'm not aware of that, no.

Q Same question with respect to coordination.

A I'm not aware of that.

Q How about conspiracy?

A I am not aware of that either.

Q Are you aware of anybody officially affiliated with the Trump campaign colluding with anybody from the Russian Government or anybody working on its behalf to influence the outcome of the 2016 Presidential election?

A I'm not aware of that, no.

Q Same question with respect to coordination.

A I'm not aware, no.

Q Same question with respect to conspiracy.

A I'm not aware.

Q Are you aware of anybody not officially affiliated with the Presidential -- the Trump campaign colluding with the Russian Government or anybody working on its behalf to influence the outcome of the 2016 Presidential election?

A I am not.

Q Same question with respect to coordination.

A I am not aware, no.

Q Same question with respect to conspiracy?

A I am not.

██████████ do you have anything?

██████████ I just have one question, and I don't know if they asked this earlier. Mr. Goldstone, I will hand you a document, and it is from the Donald Trump Jr. production, Bates No. DJTJROO893.

██████████ I'm sorry. What number? I missed that.

██████████ Don Jr. production No. 893.

#### EXAMINATION

BY [REDACTED]

Q It looks like a July 24th, 2015, email to you from Rhona asking if President -- well, then-candidate Trump would be tempted to come to Moscow for Aras' 60th birthday for, quote, "meeting with President Putin, which Emin could set up." Do you recall if he was able to attend that?

A No. And, again, I think if you look at this email in the beginning, there's no mention of President Putin. It merely talks about Robert De Niro being there and other few people. And then Ms. Graff pushes back and says: You know, honored, but, obviously, he can't do it.

And then, based on the conversation that had taken place during Miss Universe and the call from Mr. Peskov, where they'd said President Putin was very sorry the King of Holland delayed, but the next time he's in Moscow, they would certainly do everything they could to meet.

Q How very nice.

A I took it on myself because this would have been the next time, but never ever happened.

Q Got it. That's helpful.

And would Emin -- it says Emin would set up the meeting. Would it actually be Emin, or would it be probably his father?

A Well, my contact for all of this was always Emin. If anything, he would do the same as was done during Miss Universe, and it would go through his father.

Q And, again, this was the followup to the 2013?

A That is correct.

[REDACTED] Thank you very much for all of your time, Mr. Goldstone. I

wish you a very nice year wherever you decide to spend it.

██████████ On behalf of the chairman, thank you.

MR. GOLDSTONE: No problem. Happy holidays to all of you.

██████████ With that, we're adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 6:51 p.m., the interview was concluded.]